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THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XXXVI



THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XXXVI

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PREFACE

Many scholars have had a share in the production of this part. Twenty-three texts have been contributed to it by Dr. A. H. Soliman el-Mosallamy of Cairo, U.A.R.; nine by John Rea; six by Dr. Daniele Foraboschi of the Università degli Studi, Milan; five each by Dr. R. A. Coles of Oxford and Dr. Ursula Schlag of the University of Kiel; three by Miss Anna Swiderek of the University of Warsaw; two by Dr. David Rokeah of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; one each by Dr. Gerald M. Browne (Harvard University), David Jordan (Brown University), and Professor A. H. R. E. Paap (University of Cape Town). Most of these texts are documentary. But there are a few pieces of extant classical authors (2747–2751), and 2745 and 2746 offer an unusual theological and literary type of text.

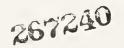
After twenty years signal service Mr. T. C. Skeat has withdrawn from the joint editorship of the Graeco-Roman Memoirs. His colleague would like to express his gratitude for the care, conscientiousness, and brilliant emendations of his period of office. The general editorship has been reconstituted as a triumvirate, and Mr. P. J. Parsons and Dr. J. R. Rea have taken his place.

At the end of the volume is a short appendix of additions and corrections to papyri published by the Egypt Exploration Society. It has no claim to completeness, being merely a collection of matters that came to our notice since the idea arose of calling attention to new readings somewhat earlier than can be done by the *Berichtigungsliste*. Contributions for publication from those who have occasion to modify texts in the Graeco-Roman Memoirs will be gratefully received and acknowledged in later volumes.

The editors would like to acknowledge the care and helpfulness of the Oxford University Press in the printing of this part. They would also like to thank Mr. W. E. H. Cockle for assistance with the proof reading, and with the preparation of the plates. John Rea has made the index.

January 1970

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER
General Editors of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs



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GMB = Gerald M. Browne AHREP = A. H. R. E. Paap							
RAC = R. A. Coles $JRR = J. R. Rea$							
DF	= Daniele Foraboschi	DR					
DJ AHS	= David Jordan SE-M = Abdulla Hassan Soliman el-Mosa	US Ilamy AS					
AHSE-M = Abdulla Hassan Soliman el-Mosallamy AS = Anna Swiderek							

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXIV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the apparatus criticus, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets () a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ' ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.



I. THEOLOGICAL TEXT

2745. Onomasticon of Hebrew Names

16×16.7 cm.

Third/fourth century

The recto contains part of a land register written in large cursive letters with wide spaces between the lines. The script is comparable to that of plates 34b, 36, and 37 of Schubart's *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, which are of the first (plate 34b) and second (plates 36, 37) halves of the third century A.D. Professor E. G. Turner has assigned it to the end of the second century A.D. The verso contains three columns of clear uncial script of a type common in literary papyri. It is assigned by Professor Turner to the end of the third century A.D., although a later date (fourth century) cannot altogether be excluded. The formation of the letters ω and v is instructive in this respect (cf. 2263; PSI 1337).

The verso is apparently part of a far larger compilation of names and etymologies. Of the three columns which appear, columns A and C contain some thirty-five Hebrew proper names, all beginning with the letter I, and column B provides an etymological interpretation of the names in column A. A few letters of an earlier column appear at the lower left of column A. These letters were probably part of another column of interpretations.

The compiler of this list drew extensively upon the Septuagint; this is proved by the occurrence of such obscure names from the genealogical lists in Genesis and Chronicles as Iemouel, Iamein, Iereioth, Iekemia, Ierkaan, and Iebaal. Iemouel and Iamein even follow one another (A5, 6) as in the genealogical list in Genesis 46: 10. The repetition of two names, Iamein and Ioab, in columns A (6, 11) and C (9, 7) can perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that the compiler copied out and interpreted indiscriminately in sequence every name occurring in every book of the Old Testament, regardless of its having appeared earlier. A similar pattern is found in the work of Hieronymus.

There are obvious mistakes in some of the Greek words in the list: for example, $cvv\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon ca$ is used instead of $cvv\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota a$ (B8), and an unknown form $avav\epsilon vav\epsilon\mu\epsilon voc$ appears (B16). There is therefore little to wonder at in the corrupt transcription of some of the Hebrew names. For these garbled Hebrew names (e.g. C12 $Ia\epsilon\kappa$, C18 $I\omega\epsilon\eta\rho$) there are no parallels in the Septuagint, and, even where the interpretation is extant, it is difficult to determine the original form of the names (e.g. AB9 $I\epsilon\mu a\rho\epsilon\mu$ $o\iota\kappa\tau\iota\rho\mu oc$).

With the help of this papyrus, the Heidelberg papyrus (P. Heidelberg i, pp. 86 seqq.), and Hieronymus' Onomasticum (= Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum, vol. lxxii of the Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 1959), the existing late-Greek

C 5884

onomastica (= Onomasticum Coislinianum, Onomastica Vaticana, Glossae Colbertinae (edited P. de Lagarde, Onomastica Sacra i, 1870)) can be traced to a much earlier date. Especially instructive is the agreement between **2745** and the Onomastica in rare words and unusual forms, e.g. AB4 Iaβειc ξη[ρ]αεμοc η αιεχν[νη], Vat. OS 192, 81 Iaβιc ξηραεμὸc η αιεχνίνη; AB12 Iωναδαβ Iaω εκουειοτηc, Coisl. OS 170, 7 Iωναδαβ. . . Iaω εκουειότηc.

Further comment becomes speculative. The implications of this fragment are discussed more fully in D. Rokeah, 'A New Onomasticon Fragment from Oxyrhynchus and Philo's Etymologies', JTS 19 (1968) pp. 70–82. Mr. Rokeah summarizes: 'The authorship of the extant Greek onomastica is hesitantly ascribed to Philo by Eusebius and Hieronymus (Eusebius, HE ii 18, 7; Hieronymus, Liber . . . etc., p. 29). The abundance of Hebrew etymologies in Philo probably led to this mistaken conclusion; it has also caused a difference of opinion among modern scholars as to his knowledge of Hebrew (summarized by Hanson, "Philo's Etymologies", JTS xviii (1967), pp. 128–39). Amir's recent arguments ("Explanation of Hebrew Names in Philo", Tarbiz xxxi (1961–2), p. 297 (Hebrew)) seem to be convincing in this respect. He drew attention to the fact that it is only in translating the name Jethro that Philo uses the form $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota cc\acute{o}c$; otherwise only the form $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota \tau\acute{o}c$ is employed. From this practice, Amir rightly inferred that Philo must have copied from a written list in these cases. An entry in our papyrus (AB15); $I\epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota ccoc$ adds weight to this argument.

'Just as the assumption that Philo knew Hebrew in any degree cannot be upheld, so the attempt to establish connections or influences of Rabbinic exegetical methods and traditions on Philo's allegorical interpretations (e.g. those of S. Belkin, "The Exegesis of Names in Philo", *Horeb* xii (1956), pp. 3–62 (Hebrew)) must be rejected. All that can be said is that since the starting-point of both Philo and the Midrash was the etymological meaning of the Hebrew names, it was inevitable that some similarities should exist.

'An analysis of the entries in our papyrus (see especially AB11 and A20, B20-1) makes it obvious that the compiler was strongly attached to the Septuagint translation, which he constantly compared with the Hebrew version; by this method he extracted and offered his etymological interpretations.

'Our papyrus contributes to a more definite negative judgement upon Philo's knowledge of Hebrew. Since this anonymous work clearly preceded Philo's, its first compilation should be placed in the late third or early second century B.C., as both a concomitant to the Septuagint translation and a mine of information for the enormous literary activity which came in its wake.'

E. G. Turner comments: 'Mr. Rokeah wishes to maintain his confidently expressed opinion that 2745 can be linked with an onomasticon compiled before the time of Philo and utilized by him. It must, however, be pointed out that the use of a nomen sacrum (B₅, $\theta \bar{\nu}$) in 2745 demonstrates that this text was copied by a Christian scribe, not a Jewish one, and was probably written in a Christian ambience. Origen is said

by Jerome (*Corpus Christianorum* Ixxii 59–60) to have worked in this field, and certainly to have compiled an interpretation of New Testament Hebrew names. Jerome's words, "laboravit ut, quod Philo quasi Iudaeus omiserat, hic [Origenes] ut Christianus impleret", might be taken to mean that he supplemented Philo's interpretation of Old Testament Hebrew names. It therefore becomes necessary to ask, as Mr. Rokeah does not do, whether this text is a copy of part of an onomasticon compiled by Origen. Its palaeographical date is entirely suitable."

\downarrow	A	٠	В		С
5	[Ιεβ[Ιαβεις Ιεμουηλ Ιαμειν Ιςςααρων Ιθαμαρ Ιεμαρεμ Ιωηλ	5	β.[] κω[]ςις παρ[]μα ξη[ρ]αςμος η αιςχυ[νη] ημεραι αυτου θῦ δεξιος ηλαιωμενος ςυντελεςα πικρια[] οικτιρμος απαρχομενος	5	[]ἰοὐ Ιως[εδ]εκ Ιαχειμ Ιεςςαι Ιωαβ Ιερειωθ Ιαμειν Ιδα[
	Ιωαβ Ιωναδαβ Ιωχαζ Ιωφαλες		Ιαω ιςχυς Ιαω εκουςιοτης Ιαω καταςχεςις Ιαω διδαςκαλος		$I\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \iota [$ $Ia\epsilon \kappa [$ $I. \upsilon [$ $I\epsilon \kappa \epsilon \mu [\iota a]$
15	$I \epsilon \theta \epsilon ho$ $I a a \lambda$ $I \omega \iota a \delta \epsilon$ $[I \omega] a \mu \omega \nu$ $[\Psi \omega \zeta a \chi a [ho]$	15	περιccoc ανανεναυςμενος Ιαω γνωςις πιcτιc Ιαω μνημη	15	Ιερκ .[Ιερκα[αν] Ιωτη[Ιωτηρ[Ιεφθου[
20	$I[\epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon(?)]\zeta\epsilon\rho$ $I[\omega\epsilon\alpha\beta]\epsilon\epsilon$	20	Ιαω βοηθια Ιαω πληςμονη η Ιαώ ∢βδομον	20	$Ilphaeta\eta[\ I\epsilonetalphalpha[\lambda]\ Ilpha u\omega[\ I\epsilon\lambda\iota\phi[$

To the left, ends of lines of a previous column: opp. A 15 $\tau\omega$, opp. A 19 $]\epsilon\eta\pi$.

AB4 Ιαβεις ξη[ρ]αςμὸς ἢ αἰςχύ[νη]: Hebrew της. The Septuagint has only ξηραςία, ξηρός, ξηρότης; the form ξηραςμός is rare in Greek: Erotianus, p. 13, line 21 Nachmanson has αὐαςμόν ξηραςμόν. Vat. OS 192, 81 Ιαβις ξηραςμὸς ἢ αἰςχύνη ἢ πλατυςμὸς ἄκρος. Coisl. OS 167, 26 Ιαβεις ευνετὸς, ξηρὸς ευνιῶν. Hieron. CC 102, 2 Iabes exsiccata vel siccitas; 104, 1 Iabes exsiccata.

AB5 Iεμουηλ ἡμέραι αὐτοῦ θῦ: Hebrew ່ 'Cat. OS 178, 88 Iεμουηλ δεξιὰ ἰςχυροῦ. Coisl. OS 168, 52 Iεμουηλ θάλας αθεοῦ, θαλάς ας. Hieron. CC 68, 24 (cf. 76, 24) Iamuhel [Iemuel F, Iemuhel H] dies eius deus. θῦ seems to be a scribe's mistaken correction for θ̄ς; this is corroborated by Hieronymus' Onomasticum and the meaning of the Hebrew. Whereas the meaning of the Coisl. ('God's sea') can be derived from the Hebrew, the Vat. probably transferred the etymology of the very similar name Iεμουηλ (which is interpreted in the Vat. itself as δεξιὰ ἰςχυροῦ) to Iεμουηλ. On the contraction of sacred names see A. H. R. E. Paap, Nomina Sacra . . . etc., in Pap. Lugd. Bat. viii (1959), pp. 1–2, 124–6.

AB6 Ιαμειν δεξιός: Hebrew ζας Coisl. OS 167, 34 Ιαμειν δεξιός, πίστις, συνετός, δεξιοῦ θεοῦ, μετέωρα. Vat. OS 178, 88 Ιαμιν δεξιά. Hieron. CC 68, 25; 76, 24 Iamin dextera. Iemuel and Iamin follow one another in our papyrus just as in the Vat., Hieronymus, and the Old Testament (Gen.

46: 10; Exod. 6: 15).

AB7 Ιccααρων ἦλαιωμένος: Hebrew יִצְהָר. Hieron. CC 76, 25 Iessaar est meridies sive meridianus aut unctio mea vel μεταφορικῶς oleum. The Septuagint version is Iccααρ. 'Oiled, anointed' is expressed in the Septuagint by ἦλειμμένος, χριστός, but Hieronymus' translation is probably based on a similar interpretation in the Onomastica now missing. By unctio mea probably is intended the Hebrew Ishari (יִצְהָרִי). Whereas our papyrus aims at a literal translation, the somewhat similar Rabbinic exegesis is a play on the association 'oil'/'oiled'. See Numbers Rabbah (Korah) xviii 16 and parallels.

AB8 Ιθαμαρ cυντέλετα πικρία(c): Hebrew κτας τουντελετα is probably a slip of the pen for cυντέλεια. Vat. OS 192, 92 Ιθαμαρ cυντέλεια πικρίας ἢ οἰκτιρμὸς ἢ φοῖνιξ. Coisl. OS 169, 79 Ιθαμαρ πικρία, ἔττιν πικρός. Hieron. CC 76, 27 Ithamar ubi amarus vel ubi palma vel est amarus sive insulae palma. The Hebrew word is split into two in the papyrus, and the 'm' repeated twice, Itham-mar, to yield

two words, each explicable.

AB9 Γεμαρεμ οἰκτιρμός. It is difficult to reconstruct the Hebrew. It might have been a corruption of Iemarer (καιρμός), but then we would expect the interpretation οἰκτρός, οἶκτος. On the other hand οἰκτιρμός is the equivalent of the Hebrew Ieroam (καιρμός) (the Septuagint also has (1 Chr. 9: 12, MS. A) the version Γερααμ (Luc. Γεροαμ)) and of other names derived from the roots 'rahem' or 'hanon' (καιρμός). Since the previous name Ithamar is interpreted in the Vat. OS 192, 92 by ευντέλεια πικρίας ἢ οἰκτιρμός, and since an interpretation of one name might extend to two lines (e.g. B21–2), this might have happened here, with Γεμαρεμ being added later mistakenly. The Coisl. has inter alia οἰκτιρμός for Γερμία (OS 169, 62) and Γερια (OS 168, 60). Hieron. CC 104, 29 has Ieroam misericors. The Heidelberg papyrus has [Γ]εραηλ οἰκτιρμοῦ for οἰκτιρμὸς θεοῦ, and adduced in comparison the Vat. (OS 192, 88) Γερεμεηλ οἰκτιρμὸς θεοῦ and Hieron. (CC 104, 4) Ierameheli misericordia dei mei.

ΑΒιο Ιωηλ ἀπαρχόμενος : Hebrew אוֹם. Coisl. OS 170, 3 Ιωηλ ἀόρατος θεός, ἔςτιν θεός, ἐντήχθη πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, ἀπαρχόμενος, γεγονὼς θεῷ θεὸς ἀόρατος. Vat. OS 173, 65 Ιωηλ ἀγαπητοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπαρχή θεοῦ; ibid. 193, 9 Ιωηλ ἀγαπητος κυρίου. Coisl. OS 203, 100 Ιωηλ ἔχει πνεῦμα θεοῦ. Onom. March. (Klostermann, ZATW xxiii (1903), pp. 135–40), p. 138 Ιωηλ ἰςχὺς κυρίου. Hieron. CC 104, 1 Iohel incipiens vel fuit dei; 124, 5 Iohel incipiens vel est deus vel dei; 146, 18 Iohel incipiente deo sive est deus. Melitonis clavis (I. B. Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense iii (1855), pp. 395 seqq.) Joel, incipiente Deo. The Coisl. and the Latin onomastica support our papyrus as to the reading. (The Vat. OS 173, 65... ἀπαρχή θεοῦ is perhaps also derived from the verb ἀπάρχεςθαι, but adopts a different meaning of the verb.) The meaning 'to begin' for the Hebrew 'Iaol' (מוֹן) is probably an elaboration of the Septuagint ἄρχεςθαι in Deut. 1:5; ἤρξατο (Hebrew 'ho'il') Μωςῆς διαςαφῆςαι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον. It is worth noting that the Hebrew verb usually means 'to be good enough, kind enough' and only here is

translated differently.

ABII Ιωαβ Ιαω ἰεχύε: Hebrew Τίκε. Coisl. OS 170, 93 Ιωαβ ἀόρατος πατήρ. Vat. OS 193, 17 Ιωαβ πατήρ κυρίου ἢ ἀγαπητός. Heidelberg papyrus Ιωβαβ ιω πατήρ (Deissmann, 89, 6; he suggested this was a scribal mistake for Ιωαβ). Hieron. CC 104, 4 Ioab inimicus vel est pater; cf. Genesis Rabbah xciv 9 (ed. Theodor–Albeck, p. 1182), Slotki's translation: 'Thy name is Joab, . . . meaning that thou art a father (ab) . . .'. Ansileubi (Pitra, p. 396, 35) Joab inimicus. Although there is no parallel to the etymology of our papyrus (Vat. OS 186, 98 has, inter alia, ὶςχὺς θεοῦ as an interpretation of Αζαηλ, and Coisl. OS 161, 10 has ἰςχὺς ἀοράτου as one interpretation of Αμαςιας) it no doubt existed, because it

derives clearly from the Septuagint and the Hebrew version. Isa. 49: 26 'abir Jacob' (אֲבִירְ יַעֵּלְבּ) is translated ἀςχυρός (e.g. Judg. 5: 22; Lam. 1: 15). This explains why the compiler of our papyrus attributed to the Hebrew 'ab' (אַבּיר) the otherwise non-existent meaning of 'might' (ἀςχύς).

AB12 Ιωναδαβ Ιαω ἐκουτιότης: Hebrew ڍκουτιότης: Coisl. OS 170, 7 Ιωναδαβ ἀοράτου δυναςτεία, Ιαω ἐκουτιότης. Hieron. CC 107, 5 Ionadab domini spontaneus. This rare word is probably an elaboration of the Septuagint ἐκούτιος and ἐκουτιαςμός for 'nadov' (בוֹב). The Thesaurus quotes few, mostly late, authorities (Memnon ap. Photium, Nicet., and Zonar.). Lampe's Patristic Greek Lexicon quotes

Hesych. H., Ps. tit. 70 (M. 27, 931 C) Ιωναδαβ γάρ έρμηνεύεται θεοῦ έκουcιότης.

AB13 Ιωχαζ Ιαω κατάςχεςις: Hebrew τημή. Coisl. OS 170, 99 Ιωαχαζ ἀοράτου κράτος, ἀοράτου δύναμις, ἀοράτου κατάςχεςις. Vat. OS 193, 19 Ιωαχαρ κατάςχεςις κυρίου; ibid. 193, 8 Ιωαχαζ κράτος κυρίου. Heidl. papyrus (Deissmann, 89, 18) Ιαχαζ (a scribal mistake for Ιωαχαζ, according to Deissmann) ιαω κράτος. Hieron. CC 116, 2 Ιοααχ ubi est retinere vel domini retentio. Melito (Pitra, p. 305) Joachaz, Robustus. Ansil. (Pitra, p. 396) Ιοας robustus. The derivation of Ιωαχαζ κατάςχεςις from the Septuagint is most likely, since κατάςχεςις there ('possession, holding, estate') is 'aḥuza' (πήηξ) in the Hebrew, and since κατέχειν means to 'hold, retain' ('aḥoz': της).

AB14 Iωφαλεε Iαω διδάςκαλος. The small vertical stroke preserved of the λ is not very similar to the other lambdas (but compare the λ in B21), but there is not much choice. Iωφαλεε is nowhere to be found; the clue is perhaps in the equation φαλεε = φαρεε, and this Hebrew word (ΕΤΣ) is interpreted by

διδάςκειν in the Septuagint (Neh. 8:8).

AB15 $I\epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho$ περιεςός: Hebrew τζ. Coisl. OS 168, 50 $I\epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho$ περιττῆς; ibid. 168, 51 $I\epsilon\theta\rho\alpha\mu$ περιεςός. Vat. OS 179, 17 $I\omega\theta\omega\rho$ περιεςεία; ibid. 193, 3 $Io\delta\omega\rho$ περιττός. Colb. OS 203, 94: $I\omega\theta\omega\rho$ τυφλὸς ἢ περιεςός. Hieron. CC 75, 23 Iethro superfluus huius. The etymologies for Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, have also been cited because Jethro is derived from the same Hebrew root as Iether. In fact, Jethro is once called Iether in the Hebrew (Exod. 4: 18), but the Septuagint has $Io\theta o\rho$ just as when he is called Iethro in the Hebrew. In 1 Chr. 2: 17, the Hebrew Iether is also transcribed as $Io\theta o\rho$ by MS. B (Luc. $I\epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho$). Philo stated three times (De agricult. 43; De mut. nom. 103; De gig. 50) that $Io\theta o\rho$ means περιεςός, whereas in all the other, numerous, cases he uses the form περιττός. This suggests that he must have been using one of our compilations since he himself did not know Hebrew. For a Rabbinic exegesis based on the etymology of Iether see Mechilta, Jethro, chap. i (ed. Horowitz–Rabin, p. 189), and parallels.

AB16 Ιααλ ἀνανεναυςμένος. Iaal is the version of MS B (= Vat.) for Ιααρ in 1 Kgs. 14: 25. Ia'ar (יַעַר), meaning 'forest', was taken to be a place name by the Septuagint translator. The form ἀνα-

ναύω does not exist.

AB17 Ιωιαδε Ιαω γνῶςις: Hebrew ς Γκίττυς. Vat. OS 170, 1 Ιωδαε ἀοράτου γνῶςις, ἐξομολογουμένου; ibid. 170, 5 Ιωιαδα ἀοράτου γνῶςις. Coisl. OS 170, 94 Ιωαδεμ ἀοράτου γνῶςις. Hieron. CC 116, 28 Ioiade (exactly as in our papyrus) domini cognitio; ibid. 108, 7 Ioiadahe domini cognitio sive ipso cognoscente; ib. 107, 5 Ioadahe ipse cognoscens.

scente; ib. 107, 5 Ioadahe ipse cognoscens.

AB18 [Iω]αμων πίστις. Coisl. OS 162, 19: Αμνων (v.l. Αμμων) πίστις, ἰσχυρός . . .; ib. 170, 6 Ιωμαν ἀοράτου πίστις; ibid. 170, 96 Ιωαμαν (interpretation missing); Heidl. papyrus (Deissmann, 89, 5): Ιωμαν ιαω πίστις. The Septuagint has Ιωμαν in 1 Chr. 4: 19 (Luc. om.), but there is no Hebrew parallel.

AB19 Ιωζαχα[ρ] Ιαω μνήμη: Hebrew γις [in 2 Kgs. 12: 21 (22) (A)]. Coisl. OS 168, 47 Ιεζειχαρ ἀοράτου μνήμη. Hieron. CC 116, 28 Ιοzachar domini memoria vel qui est memor. A small trace of the

left edge of the a is recognizable.

AB20 $I[\epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon(?)]$ ζερ Iαω βοήθια: Hebrew Κ΄?). Vat. OS 182, 3 $E\lambda\iota\epsilon$ ζερ θεοῦ βοήθεια; ibid. 190, 36: $E\lambda\iota\epsilon$ ζερ θεοῦ μου βοήθεια. Coisl. OS 162, 31 $E\lambda\epsilon$ αζαρ θεοῦ βοήθεια, θεοῦ ἰςχύς. Philo, Quis rer. div. haer. 12 $E\lambda\iota\epsilon$ ζερ, δ θεός μου βοηθός. Hieron. CC 65, 3 Eliezer dei auxilium; ibid. 75, 5 Eliezer deus meus adiutor. Melito (Pitra, 304, 8) Eliezer, Dei adjutorium. The restoration $I\epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon$ ζερ is forced on us by the large gap (of the same size as in the following line A21, where four letters fit into the gap), the I at the beginning of the word and the ζ ερ at the end, and the interpretation (Iαω βοήθια). The possibility of such a formation by the addition of an I is enhanced by I Macc. 2: 5, where we find the version Iελεαζαρος (S*. Luc. $E\lambda$ εαζαρος) for the Hebrew Eleazar. The existence of Iωςαβεε— $E\lambda\iota$ ςαβε (cf. A21) might have contributed to the conflation.

ΑΒ21 Ι[ωcaβ]εε Ιαω πλητιμονή ἢ Ιαω ἔβδομον: Hebrew ς. Coisl, OS 171, 13 Ιωταβεε ἀοράτου πληεμονή. Vat. OS 176, 43 Ελιεαβετ θεοῦ μου πληεμονή; ibid. 190, 37 Ελιεαβετ [οτ Ελιεαβε] κυρίου ἀνάπαυτις ἢ πλητμονή. Origenes (Redepenning, i 460) Ελιταβετ θεοῦ μου ὅρκοι. Hieron. CC 75, 2 Elisabeth dei mei saturitas vel dei mei iuramentum aut dei mei septimus; ibid. 116, 27 Iosabe ubi est saturitas vel domini saturitas. Since Jehoseba and Elisheba are of identical import in Hebrew, they are interpreted similarly by the various Onomastica. Of the four interpretations available (πλητμονή, ἔβδομον, ὄρκος, ἀνάπαυςις), our papyrus has only the first two. ἔβδομον is in the neuter because, as the Greek translation of the Hebrew 'sheva' (שַבַע), it almost always accompanies a noun in the neuter (פֿרסכ). The one exception in a dozen cases is Job 5: 19; the compiler usually adopts the translation of the Septuagint, here and in other cases.

C4 Ιως[εδ]εκ: Hebrew יְהוֹצְדֶךְק. Vat. OS 183, 27 Ιωςεδεκ δικαιοςύνη (cf. ibid. 193, 21). Coisl. OS 171, 15 Ιωτεδεκ δικαιοτύνη λαοῦ, ἀόρατος δίκαιος. Hieron. CC 124, 23 Iosedec domini iustus sive iustificatus.

Coisl. OS 168, 42 Ιαχιν ἡτοιμακμένος, ἔτοιμοκ. Hieron. CC 68, 25 Iachin

praeparans (cf. ibid. 76, 24).

C6 Ιεςται: Hebrew τζω. Coisl. OS 169, 72 Ιεςται τώζων, τώζοντα. Vat. OS 174, 2 Ιεςται ἀνάψυξις; ibid. 175, 16 Ιεςςαι νήςου κάρπωμα; ibid. 192, 100 Ιεςςαι ἀνάψυξις ἢ ἰςχυρὸς ἢ κάρπωμα. Hieron. CC 104, 3 Iessai insulae sacrificium vel incensum; ibid. 111, 13 Iessai insulae sacrificium vel holocaustum; ibid. 146, 20 Iessai insulae oblatio; Melito (Pitra, 305, 32): Gessai [or Jesse] Insulae Holocaustum vel sacrificium.

C7 $I\omega\alpha\beta$. See AB11 above.

 $C8 I \epsilon \rho \epsilon \iota \omega \theta$: Hebrew יִרִיעוֹת. In 1 Chr. 2: 18 (A) = $I \epsilon \rho \iota \omega \theta$; Luc. $I \epsilon \rho \epsilon \iota \omega \theta$.

C9 Iaueir. See AB6 above.

C10 $I\delta a[$]. The Septuagint has $I\delta a$, $I\delta a\iota$, and $I\delta a\epsilon \rho$, which transcribe different Hebrew names.

CII Ιετειία]. Perhaps a version of the Vat. OS 183, 28 Ιτετιας, and ibid. 184, 70 Ιεττιας. C12 $Ia\epsilon\kappa$ []. Not found elsewhere. The Septuagint has many names which begin with $I\epsilon\kappa$.

C13 I.v[]. The word might be Iwvav or Iovbac (more likely). Both names have several interpretations in the Onomastica, among which Coisl. OS 169, 82 . . . Ιαω έξομολογούμενος is noteworthy.

C14 Ιεκεμ[ια]: Hebrew יֵקְמְעָם. In 1 Chr. 24: 23 (A), Luc. Ιακαμιας. The Coisl. OS 168, 53 has Ιεκμααν for יקמעם in 1 Chr. 6: 53, and ibid. 168, 52 Ιεκενιας ἀνάςταςις ἀοράτου.

C15 $I\epsilon\rho\kappa$. The word might be $I\epsilon\rho\kappa\iota\epsilon$, $I\epsilon\rho\kappa\kappa$.], or $I\epsilon\rho\kappa\iota\epsilon$.

C16 Ιερκα[aν]: Hebrew יְרְקְעָם. In 1 Chr. 2: 44 (A) bis, Luc. Ιερεκαμ. C17 Ιωτη[φ]: Hebrew יוֹסף. There are many interpretations. We shall quote some as illustrations. Coisl. OS 171, 16 $I\omega c\eta\phi Ia\omega \pi\rho oc\theta\dot{\eta}\kappa\eta$. Heidl. papyrus (Deissmann, 89, 15) $[I]\omega c\eta\phi Ia\omega \pi\rho oc\theta\dot{\epsilon}\mu a$. Vat. OS 178, 8 Ιωτηφ πρότθετις. Colb. OS 203, 96 Ιωτηφ πρότθετις. Philo, De Iosepho 28 . . . παρὰ μὲν Έβραίοις Ἰωτὴφ καλεῖται, παρὰ δ' Έλλητι "κυρίου πρότθετις". Hieron. CC 67, 20 Ioseph augmentum. Melito (Pitra, 303, 11) Joseph Augmentatio sive ampliatio . . .

C18 $I\omega\epsilon\eta\rho[$]. Not found elsewhere. Perhaps equivalent to $Ia\epsilon\eta\rho$. C19 $I\epsilon\theta\theta\circ\nu[$]. Perhaps a version of $I\epsilon\theta\theta\circ\nu\epsilon\iota$ (Vat. OS 180, 50) or $I\epsilon\theta\thetaa\epsilon$ (ibid. 183, 20). Coisl. 169,

75 has Ιεφθαε Ιαω διάνοιξις.

C20 $Ia\beta\eta[$]. Not found elsewhere. Josephus has $Ia\beta\eta\cos$ for $Ia\beta\epsilon\iota\epsilon$, but it is difficult to assume that the compiler of the Onomastica inserted such a graecized form, especially since he had already included the Septuagint form Iaβεις.

C21 $I\epsiloneta aa[\lambda]$. The restoration may also be $I\epsiloneta aa[\rho]$. They transcribe different Hebrew proper nouns : בָּצֵלָה = name of a place, יִבְּחָר and יִבְּחָר = personal names. The former is more likely as it appears in Josh. 15:9 (B), and the following name in the list, Iarw, is also found in Josh. 16:6.

C22 Ιανω[]: Hebrew ינוֹת . This place name is transcribed Ιανω (A), Ιανωκα (Β), Luc. Ιανωχα, in Josh. 16: 6, and Ιανωχ in 2 Kgs. 15: 29 (A). Eusebius has Ιανω in his Onomasticon, and Hieron.

CC 95, 11 has Ianua requies.

C23 $I \epsilon \lambda \iota \phi$ []. This form is not found elsewhere, but it is probably equivalent to $E \lambda \iota \phi \alpha \zeta$, $E \lambda \iota \phi \alpha \lambda \epsilon \tau$, and similar words. As in the case of $E\lambda\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ — $I\epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ (cf. A20 above), it seems to have been contaminated by the addition of an I. The fact that $I\omega$ and $E\lambda$ have the same meaning (cf. A21) probably facilitated this process.

II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXT

2746. TRAGEDY

 15.5×28.5 cm.

Late first or early second century

One column, preserved for its full height but damaged on the right edge and much effaced in the lower part, from a non-extant tragic drama. 35 lines (including the $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \pi \iota \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \alpha \iota$) across the fibres in a rounded semi-documentary hand, on the verso of a series of memoranda in various cursive hands which I would assign on palaeographical grounds to the first century A.D. There are no accents or marks of elision or punctuation, but there are some paragraphi. Identification of the speakers is an integral and apparently regular feature of the lay-out.

The fragment preserves exchanges between at any rate Priam, Cassandra, Deiphobus, and a Chorus, in iambic trimeters (despite irregularities of lay-out which have obscured the metre). The subject seems fairly clearly to be the single combat between Hector and Achilles described in book xxii of the *Iliad*. It is less clear, however, whether the passage contains a prophecy by Cassandra of the fight and Hector's death, or an eye-witness account, or whether Cassandra may be seeing the events clairvoyantly.

The identification of the play is uncertain. In BICS 15 (1968)¹ I have discussed the arguments for and against 2746 being part of the Hector of Astydamas (D. L. Page, $Greek\ Literary\ Papyri\ i\ 29\ a$ and b, P. Hib. 174), and have discussed the interpretation line by line.

1 pp. 110-118 and plate XII.

```
\theta. . cη cονωπαιμηκαμης cτης ον ποδα[
           a\mu'o'
                           καιταιτιβ[.]υλαιτπροτδεχουτακρειτ.[
                                           ωδη
          ]'.'
                                 βεβληκεδεινονκαμακα
          ]a'\mu'
   5
                           τιςτεκνονφραςον
                                                  χ'ο' οπηλιωτης[
          ] ζαν'δ'
                           αλληςτοχηςε χ'ο' ειπαςωςεχει[
                           εκτωρδεδεμλει χ'ο' δυςτυχηςαγω[
                           ιςωςεδυςτυχηςεν
                                              ωδη
 10
                                 κοιναμεχρινυννεικωμεν
          ]\phi o'\beta'
                          τι τις ηχ[.] τημας εγδομωναν εκλαγε
                                 ...εατιλευςω
          ]\phi'o'
                          αινιγ[...].μοιμει.ον..θενξωλογ.[
 15
                                           ωδη
                                  ....προπυργων
                                                         ου [.]cε.[
         ]'o'
                          .[...].a[.]...καιπαρεπλανχθηςφρενa[
            ωδη
            ]
                                           ov\pi a\rho ... \epsilon [.] \epsilon v \epsilon c
                      \pi \llbracket \widetilde{\delta} \rrbracket \dots \tau \dots a 	au o \llbracket
 20
                        ocv[.].\epsilon...po[ioc[
                                                              ].[
                                        ωδη [
         ].
                                , .[.] . ερονμοιτ[
                        aκου[.].[.].[.].ανγηρυν[
                       ]aκου[.]....ρεξολωλ[.].[
25
                            [].[.]a..vc\pi o.\epsilon v\mu \epsilon[
                       ]ολωλ[...]....κ.ιφαο τειτα[
                       ]...[.].δ...ντοκλειν.[
30
                      ]της η ... ρ ... χ ε ι ρ ο ε λλη[
                       ] αλ'λ' ειπροςουδας
                      ]υν.[.].[.]. χηςεγω
                      ]\lambda\lambda.[..]..\alpha..\rho[..].\eta\pi.\rho[
35
                                               ].v[
```

```
[\Pi \rho i]a\mu o(c)
                                      θάρς η τον, ὧ παι̂· μὴ κάμης· ετῆς ον πόδα,
                                       καὶ cαῖcι β[ο]υλαῖc προςδέχου τὰ κρείςς[ονα.]
                                                              ωδή
          [Kac]c(\acute{a}\nu\delta\rho a)
                                                 βέβληκε δεινὸν κάμακα.
          [\Pi \rho i]a\mu(oc)
 5
                                      τίς, τέκνον; φράςον. Χο(ρός) ὁ Πηλιώτης [
           [Κα] ς ς άνδ (ρα)
                                      άλλ' ήςτόχηςε (ν). Χο(ρός) εἶπας ὡς ἔχει[
           [Κα]ςς(άνδρα)
                                     Εκτωρ †δεδεμλει†. Χο(ρός) δυςτυχής ἀγὼ[ν
          [Kac]c(\acute{a}\nu\delta\rho a)
                                       ϊςως έδυςτύχης εν.
          [Kacc(\acute{a}\nu\delta\rho a)?]
                                                 κοινὰ μέχρι νῦν νικῶμεν.
10
          [\Delta \eta i] \phi o \beta (o c)
                                      τίς \tilde{\eta}\chi[o]ς \tilde{\eta}\muâς έκ δόμων ἀνέκλαγε\langle v \rangle;
                                                              ωδή
           [Kacc(\acute{a}\nu\delta\rho a)?]
                                                  ξα ξα· τί λεύς ζε ω;
          [\Delta \eta i] \phi_0(\beta_{0c})
                                      αἰνίγ[ματό]ς μοι μείζον' ἐφθέγξω λόγο[ν.]
15
          [Kacc(\acute{a}\nu\delta\rho a)?]
                                                  .... πρὸ πύργων
                                                                                     ov \left[ c\epsilon \right]
          [\Delta \eta i \phi] o(\beta o c)
                                       .[...] .α[.]αυτη καὶ παρεπλάγχθης φρένα.
                                                              ώδή
           [Kacc(\acute{a}\nu\delta\rho a)?]
                                                  ου παρεκέ[λ]ευες;
                                                                                                    ].
           [name]
                                       \pi a \tau \dots \tau \dots a \tau o [
                                                                                        ].[
20
                                      \mathring{o}\varsigma \ \nu \ [\ ] \ \dot{\epsilon} \ \dots \rho o \ io\dot{\varsigma} [
                                                                                   ].[
                                                              ώδή
           name
                                                  ..[]τερόν μοι τ[
                                       ακου[].[].αν γῆρυν [
           [name]
           [name?]
                                       ακου[.]....ρ έξολωλ[.].[
25
                                                              ώδή
           [name]
                                                  [ ] [ ]α υςπο ενμε[
                                      ολωλ[ ] αικαιφαο τειτα[
           [name]
                                       ...[.]..[.].δ...ντο κλειν.[
                                      \tau \hat{\eta} c c \hat{\eta} c \epsilon \rho \dots \chi \epsilon \iota \rho \delta c E \lambda \lambda \eta [\nu - ?]
30
                                      βάλλει πρός οὖδας.
           [name?]
                                       [.]vv.[.].[.]. \chi\eta\epsilon \epsilon \dot{\epsilon}\gamma \dot{\omega}.
                                      [\ ]\lambda\lambda.[\ ], \alpha, \rho[\ ], \eta\pi, \rho[
           [name?]
                                                              \left[ \dot{\omega} \delta \dot{\eta} \right]
                                                   ....[
          [name]
                                                                        ].v[
35
```

2 Faint traces (below $]a\mu'o'$ in l. 1) χουτα has been re-inked by another hand in a lighter ink 7 After initial nota personae, high traces 10 At end of line, α , δ , or χ 13 End, traces which resemble π more than anything else 14 After awy, slight traces of ink in what is shown as a lacuna Before $\mu o \iota$, the end of a high horizontal: perhaps ϵ ? $o \nu$: the papyrus on the right of the vertical crack has warped upwards. The reading is not doubtful Below beginning of line, para-16 After ου, κ or β? 17 Remains of ink in the first graphus and β by different hand 19 The surface before it is much abraded, but the o (with the v) is written indicated lacuna larger as if an initial form The trace at the end seems most like an ϵ or ϵ 20 It seems that the writer originally began the line with δ , then inserted π before the beginning of the line and changed the δ into an α On the trace at the end of the line, see the commentary 21 Before ρ , ρ or ω ? 23 Of initial nota personae, If ρ , is the preceding letter δ ? Letter after ρo apparently corrected only a tiny spot of ink remains Before $\epsilon \rho o \nu$, a high horizontal: τ ? but χ also possible initial trace is uncertain a is written rather large, perhaps as initial letter Possibly three letters between a and v30 The first traces of this line are directly under those of the lines preceding: the papyrus is fractured and the upper part has sprung out to the left 31 Paragraphus appears to be by the same hand as the text. (So also, probably, those below 5 and 8 and above II) fore χης, τυ possible 33 Before α , are the traces perhaps to be combined as μ ? Between a and ρ , space for one average letter, but the traces most resemble $i\chi$ Before η , end of a diagonal rising to 35 At the left edge of the papyrus, at a level above and below the traces of this line, cursive marks in a different hand in a lighter ink, apparently irrelevant to the literary text v, traces most resemble τ

(Lines r-19.) (Priam) 'Take courage, child! Do not exhaust yourself! Stay your foot, and adopt the better course in your designs.' (Cassandra) 'He has thrown the terrible shaft!' (Priam) 'Who, my child? Tell me.' (Chorus) 'The Pelian . . .' (Cassandra) 'But he missed!' (Chorus) 'Have you said (?) how it is . . .?' (Cassandra) 'Hector is throwing (?).' (Chorus) 'This is an unlucky contest(?).' (Cassandra) 'Equally he was unlucky . . . so far we have a common share in victory . . .' (Deiphobus) 'What sound called us out of the house?' (Cassandra?) 'Ah! What do I see?' [. . .] (Deiphobus) 'The words you uttered are for me greater than a riddle.' (Cassandra?) '[Were you not?] in front of the city walls? . . .' (Deiphobus) '. . . and you were out of your mind.' (Cassandra?) 'Were you not exhorting (him)?' [. . .]

1 θάρεητον, & παι: Snell compares Ezekiel, Exagoge 100.

 $3 \, \dot{\psi} \delta \dot{\eta}$ (and 9, 12, 15, 18, 22, 26, and perhaps 34): the closest parallel is $\dot{\psi} \delta \dot{\eta} \, \dot{\epsilon} \nu \delta o \theta \epsilon \nu$ in Eur. Cyclops 487: but the occurrence of the word seven, and probably eight, times in the short space of **2746** is a novelty. It can hardly bear relation to the interlinear phrase $\chi o \rho o \hat{\nu} \, \mu \dot{\epsilon} \lambda o \epsilon$ (on which cf. P. Hib. 174, 10 note; and see Pickard-Cambridge, The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens, pp. 160 seqq.; also The Dramatic Festivals of Athens, p. 240; Sifakis, Studies, 1 pp. 113 seqq.). Its repetition is against this; also it occurs at points where an interval of any length would be incompatible with the development of the drama. Possibly it means that there was musical accompaniment. However, $\dot{\psi} \delta \dot{\eta}$ appears to be used rather of singing, or vocal noise at least, than instrumental noise. To its being used here to show the manner of Cassandra's utterances, it may be objected (1) that 6 seqq. have not been so classified, and (2) that parallels such as $\dot{\psi} \delta \dot{\eta} \, \dot{\epsilon} \nu \delta o \theta \epsilon \nu$ in the Cyclops and $\dot{\rho} o \hat{\iota} \beta \delta o \epsilon$ in the Ichneutae (79 Page) imply something extra and not anything as to the manner of what follows. The possibility remains that the $\dot{\psi} \delta a \dot{\iota}$ are improvisations by Cassandra.

4 κάμακα: cf. Aesch. Nereids (fr. 152 Nauck², Lloyd-Jones fr. 75 Loeb).

4 seqq. Prima facie the arrangement of the text has a neat and balanced appearance (whatever the reason may be for the *eisthesis* of lines 4, 10, et al.), but something has gone seriously wrong if the text is to be reconstituted into iambic trimeters.

5 $\Pi_{\eta} \lambda \iota \omega \tau \eta c$ is a new form. It would be incorrectly formed as a patronymic from $\Pi_{\eta} \lambda \epsilon \nu c$, and must derive from $\Pi_{\eta} \lambda \iota \nu c$.

6 [Ka]ς cάνδ(ρa): on the spelling of the name, see Fraenkel's commentary on Aesch. Ag. ii 467. ἠετόχητεν: ἀετοχέω occurs several times in late prose, but is rare in poetry: perhaps cf. Page, GLP 75, 13.

¹ Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama, London 1967.

 $7 \dagger \delta \epsilon \delta \epsilon \mu \lambda \epsilon \iota \dagger$: the reading is clear, so that there must be some corruption here. I take it that the sense should be that Hector in turn is casting or has cast his spear.

10 κοινὰ μέχρι νῦν νικῶμεν: a strange and poetically unsatisfying expression. Presumably this is

the beginning of an iambic trimeter.

II $\hat{\eta}\chi$ oc: the first appearance of this word in tragedy.

ἀνέκλαγεν: this verb occurs in Eur. IA 1062, but not in the transitive use which is surprising here. The lengthening of the second syllable is to be noted. Cf. Page, A New Chapter in the History of Greek Tragedy, pp. 22 seqq., with notes, esp. p. 24 with n. 25. Note also $\pi a \rho \epsilon \pi \lambda \acute{a} \gamma \chi \theta \eta c$ in 17.

14 Perhaps cf. Aesch. Ag. 1112-13.

On $\bar{\beta}$ below the beginning of the line, cf. Turner's introduction to 2458.

17 At end, $\phi \rho \acute{\epsilon} \nu a[\epsilon]$ would be equally possible.

19 παρεκέ[λ]ενες: the papyrus is warped and broken after ρ , but this reading of the traces seems secure enough, except that the last two letters are rather ambiguously formed. For the form of κ , cf., e.g., the first κ of $\kappa \acute{a}\mu a\kappa a$ (l. 4). The verb occurs in Theodectes (fr. 9, 2, Nauck², p. 804); also Ar. Vesp. 530; the active in the pseudo-Hippocratic $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{i}$ εὐεχημοεύνηε, 16, and in Polybius. The attribution of this utterance to Cassandra is of course conjectural.

20 The papyrus is comparatively intact for some distance before the single trace indicated at the end of the line. Either the surface has been abraded (although there is no clear change in this respect between this area and the blank section at the end of l. 19) or the line contained *antilabe* (or a blank

space) as above in the inset lines 10, 13 etc.

21 It does not seem that $E_{\kappa\tau\omega\rho}$ (or an oblique case thereof) is to be read here. This suggestion might be made in 25: the traces are much vaguer, but $\tilde{a}\kappa\omega'[\epsilon]a\tau$, $E_{\kappa\tau\omega\rho}$ may be a possible reading.

24 An imperative form of ἀκούω, followed by an adjective qualifying γῆρυν?

25 See the note on 21 above. Above the τ of the putative $a\kappa\omega(c)a\tau$, another letter (τ ?) added in a different hand (cf. the ink of β below 14 init.)?

III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

2747. Homer, Iliad II. 1-78

28.5×19 cm.

Fifth/sixth century

Part of a codex which, when it was complete, contained the second book of Homer's *Iliad*. The papyrus is thick and coarse. The first 38 lines are written on the face along the fibres and the following 40 lines on the back across the fibres. Those on the back are very faint, as if washed out. The handwriting, written in brown ink, is a regular sloping uncial of the oval type and may belong to the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth. Parallels are Schubart, *Paläogr.* no. 99 (= PSI 126) and *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 43b, assigned to A.D. V; M. Norsa, *La Scritt. Letter.* 16 = P. Cair. 43227, assigned to A.D. V-vi; 1373-4.

The text shows some variants from the text of Allen (Oxford, 1931) with which it has been collated.

Recto →

ΓΙλιαδος

] β

[Αλλοι μεν ρα θεοι] τε και ανερες ιπποκορυςται [ευδον παννυχιοι Δ]ια δ ουκ εχε νηδυμος υπνος [αλλ ο γε μερμηριζε] κατα φρενα ως Αχιληα [τιμηςη ολεςη δε π]ολεας επι νηυςιν Αχαιων 5 [ηδε δε οι κατα θυμο]ν αριστη φαινετο βουλη [πεμψαι επ Ατρειδην] Αγαμεμνα ουλον ονειρον [και μιν φωνηςας επ]εα πτεροεντα προςηυδα [βαςκ ιθι ουλε ονειρε] θοας επι νηας Αχαιων [ελ]θων [εις κλιςιην Αγ]αμεμνονός Ατρείδαο [π]αντα μα[λ ατρεκεως α]γορευεμεν ως επιτελλω 10 θωρηξαι [ε κελευε καρ]η κομοωντας Αχαιους πας ευδιη [νυν γαρ κε]ν ελοι πολιν ευρυαγυιαν Τρωων ο [υ γαρ ετ αμφις] Ολυμπια δωματ εχοντε[ς] αθανατ[οι φραζονται] επεγναμψεν γαρ απαντα[c] $H \rho \eta \ \lambda \iota c c o \mu [\epsilon \nu \eta \ T \rho \omega] \epsilon c c \iota \ \delta \epsilon \ \kappa \eta \delta \epsilon \ \epsilon \phi \eta \pi \tau a \iota$ 15 ως φατο βη[δ αρ ο]νειρος επει τον μυθον ακους ε καρπαλιμως δ ικανε θοας επι νηας Αχαιων βη δ αρ επ Ατρειδην Αγαμεμνονα τον δε κιχανεν

ευδοντ'α' εν κλιειηι περι δ αμβροειος κεχυ[θ υ]πνος cτη δ αρ υπερ κεφαλης *Νηληϊω ϋι εομ*κως] 20 Νεςτορι τον ρα μαλιςτα γεροντώ[ν τι Αγαμεμνων] τωι μιν εειςαμενος προςεφωνε[ε θειος ονειρος] $\epsilon v [\delta \epsilon]$ ις $A \tau \rho \epsilon$ ος \ddot{v} ιε δαιφρονός ιπ π [οδαμοίο] ου χρη παννυχιον ε[υ]δειν βουληφ[ορον ανδρα] [ω λαοι τ ε]πιτετρα <math>[φ]αται και το [cca μεμηλε]25 [νυν δ εμ]εθεν ξυν[ες] ωκα δε τοι [αγγελος ειμι] [ος ςευ αν]ευθεν εων μεγα κηδε[ται ηδε ελεαιρει] $[\theta \omega \rho \eta \xi a \ \epsilon] \epsilon \ \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \epsilon \ \kappa a \rho \eta \ \kappa o \mu o \omega v \tau a \epsilon \ A \chi [a \iota o v \epsilon]$ [πανευδιη νυν] γαρ κεν ελοις πολιν ευρυαγυι[α]ν [Τρωων ου γα]ρ ετ αμφις Ολυμπια δωματ εχοντες 30 [αθανατοι φ]ράζονται επεγναμψεν γαρ απαντας [Ηρη λιεςο]μενη Τρωεςςι δε κηδε εφηπται [εκ Διος αλ]λα τυ τητιν εχε φρετι μηδε τε ληθη [αιρειτ]ώ ευτ αν ςε μελιφρών υπνος ανηηι ως αρ[α] φωνητας απεβητετο τον δ ελιπ αυτου 35 $[\tau a] \; \phi \rho [o] v \stackrel{o}{\epsilon} \! \omega v \tau \; ava \; \theta \upsilon \mu o \upsilon \; a \; \rho \; o \upsilon \; \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \theta a \iota \; \epsilon \mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon v$ φη γαρ ο γ αιρηςειν Πριαμου πολιν ηματι κεινω γηπιος ουδε τα ηδη α ρα Ζευς μηδετο εργα

Verso ↓

θηςειν γαρ ετ εμελλεν επ [αλγεα τε ςτοναχας τε Τρωςι τε και Δαναοιςι δια [κρατερας υςμινα]ς 40 εγρετο δ εξ υπνου θειη δε μ[ιν αμφεχυτ ομφη] εζετο δ ορθωθεις μαλακο[ν δ ενδυνε χιτωνα] καλον νηγατεον περι δε μ[εγα βαλλετο φαρος] ποςςι δ υπο λιπαροιειν εδ[ητατο καλα πεδιλα] αμφι δ αρ ωμοιςιν βαλετο [ξιφος αργυροηλον] 45 ειλετο δε εκηπτρον πατρ[ωιον αφθιτον αιει] ςυν τω εβη κατα νηας Α[χαιων χαλκοχιτωνων] Ηως μεν ρα θεα προςεβης[ετο μακρον Ολυμπ]ον [Z]ηνι φοως ερεουςα και α[λλοις αθανατοις]ιν [α]υταρ ο κηρυκεςςι λιγυφ[θογγοιςι κελευςε] 50 κηρυςς ειν αγορηνδε καρ[η κομοωντας] Αχαιους οι μεν εκηρύςςον τοι δ ηγ[ειροντο μαλ ω]κα

[Β]ουλη δε πρωτον μεγαθυμ[ων ιζε γεροντ]ων [Ν] εςτορεηι παρα νηϊ Πυλοι[γενεος βαςιληο]ς [τ]ους ο γε ςυνκαλεςας πυκινην η[ρτυνετ]ο βουλην 55 κλυτε φιλοι θειος μοι ενυπνιον ηλθεν ονειρος αμβρο[ε]ιην δια νυκτα μαλιετα δε Νε[ετορι διω] [ειδος τε μ]εγεθος τε φυην τ αγχιςτα εωκει [ετη δ αρ υπ]ερ κεφαλης και μιν προς μυθον [εε]ιπεν [ευδεις Ατρεος υ]ιε δαιφρον[ο]ς ιπποδαμοιο 60 [ου χρη παννυχ]ιον ευδειν [β]ουληφορον ανδρα [ω λαοι τ επιτετ]ραφαται και τος α μεμηλε [νυν δ εμεθεν] ξυνες ωκα Διος δε τοι [αγγελος ειμι] [ος ςευ ανευθεν εω]ν μεγα κηδ[ετ]αι ηδ ελεα[ιρει] [θωρηξαι τε κελ]ευτε καρη κομοωντας Αχα[ιουτ] 65 [πανευδιη νυν γ]αρ κεν ελοις πολιν ευρυαγυ[ιαν] [Τρωων ου γαρ] ετ αμφις Ολυμπια δωματ[εχοντες] $a\theta[a]v[a]\tau[o]i \phi\rho a\zeta ov \tau ai \epsilon \pi \epsilon \gamma v a\mu \psi \epsilon v \gamma a\rho a[\pi av \tau ac]$ Ηρη λιςςομενη Τρωες εί δε κηδε είφηπται] εκ Διος αλλα ςυ ςηςιν εχε φρεςιν ως [ο μεν ειπων] 70 ωχετ αποπταμενος εμε δε γλυκυς υπν[ος ανηκεν] αλλ αγετ αι κεμ πως θωρηξομεν υιας Αχα[ιων] πρωτα δ εγων επεςιν πειρηςομαι η θεμι[ς εςτι] και φευγειν εν νηυςι πολυκληιςι κελευςω υμεις δ αλλοθεν αλλος ερητυειν επεεςςιν 75 Ητοι ο γ ως ειπων κατ αρ εζετο τοιςι δ ανεςτη Νέςτωρ ος ρα Πυλοιο αναξ ην ημαθοέντος ο ςφιν ευ φρονεων αγορηςατο και μετεειπεν

6 Αγαμέμνα for Αγαμέμνονα by haplography. Ατρεΐδη Άγαμέμνονι adopted by Allen. Άτρεΐδην Άγαμέμνονα in L⁸ L¹⁰ L¹⁸ M¹⁴ Mc V¹.

16 The scribe left a space at the beginning of the line, perhaps for a paragraphus.

19 $\epsilon v \delta o v \tau' a'$: the alpha is added by the same hand.

20 νι: Allen νιι.

26 δε τοι, instead of Διος δε τοι, is an unnoticed error of the scribe, cf. 63.

28 κελευε: κέλευτε Allen, τ' ἐκέλευτε vulg. τε κέλευε vel τ' ἐκέλευε codd. plurimi.

36 $\phi \rho [o] \nu \epsilon \omega \nu \tau$ ': the correction from ω to o was done by the same hand. 53 $\beta o \nu \lambda \dot{\eta}$: Aristoph., Ar. Bm⁴, U⁵ corr. $\gamma \rho$., P³; $\beta o \nu \lambda \dot{\eta} \nu$: Zenod., Allen.

55 ήρτύνετο Pap., vulg.; ἀρτύνετο Allen.

59 μω: must be a slip of the pen.

74 ἐν is only in **2747**. cứν Allen, codd. For the usage of ἐν instead of cứν see Blass, Gramm. N.T. Gr., p. 131; Robertson, Gramm. N.T. Gr., p. 588.

2748. Homer, Iliad XVI. 129-60

19.5×10 cm.

Second century

A small strip of papyrus from a roll, containing the upper and lower margins and the beginning of the lines of a complete column. The handwriting is of middle-sized upright uncials of the second century. So far as it extends there are no variants from the text of Allen (Oxford, 1931), with which it has been collated, except in l. 150 where movable ν is added to $\xi \tau \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \nu$. Across the fibres, presumably on the back. On the other side part of a writing exercise (?).

	δυςεοτευχεα θ [
130	$\omega c \phi [\] au o \pi a au ho o [$
	κνημ[.]δαςμεν[
	καλαςαργυρεοιςι[
	$\delta \epsilon u au \epsilon ho u au au au \omega [$
	ποι[]λοναςτεροε[
135	$a\mu[\ldots]$ a ρωμοιτιν $oldsymbol{eta}[$
	χ α $\lambda[\dots]$ οναυταα ρ ε π ε \lceil
	κρατ[] επιφθιμω[
	ιππ[]ρινδεινονδ[
	ϵ ιλ $[\ldots]$ αλκιμαδο v [
140	εγχοςδουχελετοιο[
	βριθυμεγαςτιβαρο[
	π αλλ ϵ [.]ναλλαμινο[
	π ηλιαδα μ ελιην $ au$ [
	$\pi\eta\lambda$ ιο $[\]$ εκκορυ $\phi\eta[$
145	$\iota\pi\pi$ ουςδαυτομ ϵ δ $[$
	τονμεταχιλληαρ[
	πιςτοτατοςδεοιες
	τωδεκαιαυτομε[
	ξανθονκαιβαλιον
150	τουςετεκενζεφυρω[
	βοςκομενηλειμ[
	ενδεπαρηοριηιειν[
	τονραποτη ϵ τιων $[\ldots]\ldots$ νπο $[$
	οςκαι $ heta$ νητος $\epsilon \omega$ ν $\epsilon \pi \epsilon heta$ $\pi \pi$ ο $[$
155	μυρμιδοναςδαρεποιχομενο[
	πανταςανακλιςιαςςυντευχεςιν[
	ωμοφαγοιτοιειντεπερ[.]φρεει[
	.]ιτ[.]λαφονκεραονμεγ[.]νουρε[
]. ε[.]νδ[].[][
160]ιας[

2749. Thucydides II. 90-92

Height 19.6 cm.

Second/third century

Three fragments preserve parts of five columns, reconstructed on the assumption of 30 or 31 lines per column. The appearance of the handwriting and the height (3.5 cm.) of the upper margin of col. ii suggest that the fragments are from a stately roll. The scribe wrote in a stylized upright book hand with contrasted broad and narrow letters. Individual letters vary considerably in breadth, the average κ being about four times and the average μ about five times as broad as the average ϵ . There are small flat tips at the feet of λ and at the feet and often at the tops of letters with vertical strokes. Letters worth particular mention are ξ , which consists of a curl between two horizontal, inwardly curved, strokes; τ , the horizontal stroke of which has a downward curl at the left end; and ν , the top of which is a wide shallow cup formed with one stroke.

No exactly parallel hand¹ can be quoted, but others of this type are those of P. Bodmer 14 (in which, however, ξ has the modern lower-case formation), **2454** (which is more angular and upright), and a Hesiod fragment on parchment (Bartoletti, Aegyptus xxxi (1951), pp. 263–8, which has a slight slope to the right and is more angular). These three hands differ from the present one by having letters of a more nearly uniform breadth.

The scribe uses the paragraphus (a single displaced rough breathing just left of the paragraphus at l. 37), the middle and the high dot, and the diaeresis; he fills out lines 23 and 58 with little wedges. At one point he corrects himself or is corrected by another: an ι is inserted after the article in line 47. An insertion in a second hand is made above line 56.

A table giving instances of agreements of the papyrus readings with those of the seven principal manuscripts, as collated by Hude in his *editio maxima* of 1898, follows:

With	С	Against	ABEFGM	line	50 (doubtful)
				,,	58 (wrong)
,,	C	,,	ABEF[G]M	,,	27 (doubtful)
,,	CG	,,	ABEFM	,,	35 (doubtful)
,,	CEFGM	,,	AB	,,	46 (right)
,,	ABCM	,,	EFG	,,	37 (right)
,,	ABCEFG	,,	M	,,	47 (doubtful)
,,	ABCEGM	,,	F	,,	40 (right)
,,	ABCFGM	,,	E	,,	6 (doubtful)
,,	ABEFGM	,,	С		s 19, 29, 49, 60 (right)
,,	ABEFM	,,	CG		28 (right)
,,	ACEFGM	,,	В	,,	48 (right)

¹ It seems likely that an unedited fragment of Plato, Gorgias was by the same scribe. E. G. T.

225 contains Thuc. ii. 90, 5-6. The lacunae are such that the two papyri have only eight letters in common, none of them representing a variant, and no information can be obtained as to the relationship between the two.

The verso presents writing in two hands, one fragment badly damaged and mostly illegible, and the second fragment containing repetitions of the phrase $\pi \iota \tau \tau \acute{a} \kappa \iota \nu$ (for $\pi \iota \tau \tau \acute{a} \kappa \iota \nu \nu$) έχων $B \epsilon \rho \iota \nu \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \acute{a} c$.

All of col. i is lost except part of a ν at the end of the first line. The top and the bottom of col. ii and the bottom of col. v are preserved.

Col. ii

90, 2-3

νη ες περ[ικληις ειαν ο δε όπερ εκ[εινοι προς εδεχοντο [φοβηθεις πε ρι τωι χωρ[ιωι ερημωι οντι ως ε[ωρα αναγο μ[ενους αυτους ακων κ[αι κατα ςπουδην εμ βι[βας ας επλει παρα τη[ν γην και ο πεζος α

5

5 lines lost (traces of final letters of ll. II-I4)

15 ον]τας εντός του [κολ που] τε και πρό[ς] τη[ι] γηι οπε]ρ εβουλόντο μα λιςτ] απο σημείου ενος

αφνω επιςτρεψαν

20 τες] τας ναυς μετω πη]δον επλεον ως ει χε ταχ]ους εκαςτος επι τους αθ]ηναιους και » ηλπιζο]ν παςας τας

25 ναυς απολ]ημψεςθαι των δε ενδεκα μ]εν τινες] αιπερ ηγουν το υπεκφε]υγουςι το κερας τω]ν πελοπον

30 νηcιων και την ε πιcτροφην ες την

90, 4-5

-

C 5884

Col. iii			90, 6
		και $\tau[\omega v]$ ν $\epsilon[\omega v$ τινα ϵ	
		αναδ[ου]μεν[οι ειλ	
		κον κένας. μ[ιαν δε	
	35	— αυτοις ανδρα[ςιν ει	
		χον ηδη· τας δ[ε τινας	
		ιοι μετς[η]ν[ιοι παραβο	
		ηθηςα[ντες και επες	
		βαινο[ντες ξυν τοις	
	40	οπ[λ]οι[ς ες την θαλας	
	'	ca[ν και επιβαντες α	
		πο [των καταςτρωμα	
Col. iv			91, 3
		ετυχε δε ολκας ορμ]ου	
		ca μετεωροc π]ερι ην	
	45	η] αττικη ναυς φθα	
		<i>ç</i> αcα και περιπλευcα	
		c]α τη`ι΄ λευκαδιαι δ઼[ιω	
Col. v			92, I-2
COI. V		ιδοντας ταυτ]α γιγν[ο	9=, = =
		μενα θαρ]ςος τε ελαβε[
	50	κ[αι απο] ενος κελευ[
	Ü	μα[τος ε]νβοηςαντε[ς	
		επ ᾳ[υτο]υς ωρμηςαν	
		οι δε [δια] τα ϋπαρχοντα	
		αμαρτηματα και την	
	55	παρουςαν αταξιαν	
	55	ολιγον μεν `τινα΄ χρονον	
		υπεμ[ει]γαν επειτα	
		δε ετραπ]οντο ες το >	
		πανορμο]ν οθενπερ	
	60	ανηγαγο]ντο: επιδι	
6 αὐτοὺς om. Ε 28 ὑπεκφεύγουςιν CG		τρέψαντες C 25 ἀπολήψεςθαι MSS. Ιελοπονηςίων C 35 είλον ΑΒΕΓΜ	27 τινες om. ABEFGM 37 Μεςήνιοι EFG

ķ.

40 θάλατταν F 46 καὶ περιπλεύςαςα om. AB 47 τ $\hat{\eta}$ διωκούς η Λευκαδί η 48 γινόμενα B 49 ἔλαβεν C 50 κελεύματος C κελεύςματος ABEFGM 51 ἐμβοήςαντες MSS. 56 τινα om. MSS. The erudition if not the correctness of the insertion, made in a second hand, is attested by iv 54, 30 and viii 95, 14, both of which have ὀλίγον μέν τινα χρόνον. Cf., however, i 18, 18 καὶ ὀλίγον μέν χρόνον ξυνέμεινεν $\dot{\eta}$ ὁμαιχμία 58 τὸν ABEFGM and the scholia 60 ἀνήγοντο C

[Addendum: During final cleaning by W. E. H. Cockle before photography some additional traces of ink have been brought out. When indeterminate they have not been noted. In col. ii, l. 12 clearly ends in]a; the traces at the ends of 10, 11, 13 may be] φ ,] ϵ ,] respectively. In col. iii traces of a in the line below 47 might justify [$\kappa ov c\eta\iota \ \epsilon\mu\beta$] α [$\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota \ \mu\epsilon$].]

2750. Xenophon, Cyropaedia I, 1

 8.0×14.2 cm.

Later second century

The upper part of one column from a papyrus roll. Opposite the last lines are the fragmentary first letters of 5 lines of the next column. The text is written on the recto, and the hand is another example of the early Biblical uncial style¹ similar to, e.g., 661 (Callimachus, *Iambi*), and may similarly be dated around the latter part of the second century A.D. It is very similar to 2101, and Professor E. G. Turner in fact suggests that this papyrus may well belong to the same roll, the slightly larger size of the handwriting being accounted for by this column's being the first in the roll. Occasional accents, breathings, stops, a mark of elision, and two interlinear readings have been added, at least partly by a different hand.

This was written before the appearance of G. Cavallo, Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica, who dates 2101 (p. 65) to the late fourth century. The dating cannot be argued here. [The assignment to the late fourth century credited to me in the publication of this text by Dr. Paap in The Xenophon Papyri no. 5, p. 13, rests on a misunderstanding. E. G. T.]

εννοια π]οθ' ήμιν εγ[εν]ετο [οςαι δημ]οκρατιαι κ[ατ]ελυ [θηςαν υ]πο των άλλως πως $[\beta o \nu \lambda o \mu \epsilon] \nu [\omega] \nu \pi o \lambda i \tau \epsilon \nu \epsilon [c]$ θαι μαλλ]ον. η εν δημοκρα 5 [τιαι οςαι] τε ολιγαρχιαι αρην [ται ηδη υ]πο δημων και ο [τυραν]νείν επιχειρη > [cαντες ο]ι μεν αυτων [κ]αι [ταχυ παμ]παν κατελυθηι 10 [caν οι δε] καν δποςονοῦν [χρονον αρ]χοντες δι[.]..ον [ται θαυμα]ζονται ως co> [φοι τε και ε]υτυχεις [α]νδρες [γεγενη]μενοι· πολλους I 5 [δ εδοκουμ]εν καταμεμα $[\theta \eta \kappa \epsilon \nu \alpha \iota \ \kappa \alpha \iota] \epsilon [\nu] \iota \dot{\varrho} \iota \dot{\varrho} [\iota] c ο \dot{\iota} κοι c.$ [τους μεν εχοντας κα]ι πλε*ι* [ονας οικετας τους] δε κα [πανυ ολιγους και ομ]ώς ου 20 [δε τοις ολιγοις τουτοις] πα [νυ τι δυναμενούς χρηςθα]ι> [πειθομενοις τους] δε

1 On the shape of the spiritus asper, cf. V. Gardhausen, Griechische Palaeographie i (1911), p. 385. 6 ὅται τ' αὖ μοναρχίαι MSS. between δημοκρατίαι and ὅται: om. pap., homoeoarchon.

6-7 ανηρην[ται pap.2: in agreement with MSS.

9 The dash on the μ probably is the gravis belonging to either or or $\mu \epsilon \nu$.

9-10 καὶ ταχὺ πάμπαν pap. y z correctly, Gemoll, March.: ταχὺ πάμπαν καί x: καί om. Vat. 987, flattened.

11 όποςονοῦν pap. y z: όποςοῦν x wrongly.

12–13 διαγένωνται y z correctly: διεγένοντο x. The position of the interlinear ω (written higher than preceding interlinear correction) makes it probable that the ν of the original text is that following after o (x). The space between δ_{ι} and $o\nu$ ($\epsilon\nu$ definitely cannot be read) will not accommodate x's reading without supposing an omission. For agreement between correction and y, cf., e.g., 2101 110, 161: 697 25, 55, 77: Pack², 1551, ll. 171, 216–17 (scholion), 218.

161; 697 25, 55, 77; Pack², 1551, ll. 171, 216–17 (scholion), 218.

18 καί pap. MSS. Gemoll, March.: del. Hartman (Analecta Xenophontea Nova (1889), pp. 125–6) without reason. Cf. Denniston, Gk. Particles, p. 318. It is emphatic rather than corresponsive,

as F. K. Hertlein-W. Nitsche⁴, 1886, and L. Breitenbach-B. Büchsenschütz⁴, 1890, take it.

19 The division of the diphthong $\kappa a/[\iota]$ is so odd that the possibility of 2750's having had $\kappa a/[\nu]$ must be considered.

23 πειθομένοις F G, om. cett., wrongly, as it contains the point of the whole clause. It is possible that pap. omitted it, in which case the line would read [τους δεςποτας ετι] δε. It seems in any case certain that pap. does not support Hartman's deletion of τοὺς δεςπότας (Gemoll attributes the deletion to Hirschig). True, they constitute an anacolouthon after the opening πολλούς, but are understandable on account of the intervening $\kappa a i$ ($\delta \mu \omega c$) and, in fact, pointedly stress the contrast between official authority and actual inefficiency.

As regards the word-division at the end of the line as printed above, cf., e.g., Pack² 1551, ll. 172-3

(= P. Rainer VI pp. 81 seqq.).

2751. Plato, Republic III

Fr. D 15.0×15.5 cm. Late second or early third century

Five fragments of a fine copy of the Republic of Plato. The complete lines in fr. D col. ii contain 18, 19, or 20 letters, sometimes only 16, i.e. 18 on average. According to standard texts, the gap between col. i and col. ii needs 145 letters, which make 8 lines of 18 letters. In fact 5 of these 8 lines are found in Frag. E, and come at the head of the column of which the lower part is in D col. ii, giving 27 lines per column. On the verso a magical amulet (2753) was written afterwards.

In 2751 the small o, the ω with characteristically flat base, ξ with two somewhat curved strokes and the middle connection like the sign of aspiration closed only to the lower stroke, may indicate early third century, but late second century is probable (cf. 1016, 223, Roberts, Gr. Literary Hands, p. 20).

The scribe of this papyrus is skilful. His script is of the oval type, regular and graceful, upright, and rather above medium size. The broad μ with curved middle, broad and shallow in upper part, broad π without emerging strokes, the curved vwith three equal strokes, and the regular space between the letters are characteristics common between our papyrus and 1017 (Plato, Phaedrus). But the case for identity between the two scribes is not strong.

Punctuation is as in 1016, 1017. Alternations of the dialogue are, as usual, marked by double dots (A 4, B 3, D ii 15; wrongly omitted at D ii 14), accompanied sometimes by paragraphi (D ii 5, 6, 14, 15, 18, 19) under the line. A high stop is used (D ii 7, 19). The vat the end of the line may be written as a stroke over the preceding vowel (B 2, D 2). There is no evidence of a second hand. The correction of reading (B 4) is by the original hand. The text is interesting mainly for sharing the reading of F $\delta\delta\xi\omega$ $\gamma\dot{\epsilon}$ co at 414 c 9 against the other manuscripts. The scribe writes ξυμφέρειν A 6, and ξυμβαίνειν, not ευμβαίνειν A 10. The collation is with Burnet's Oxford text, but the apparatus has been corrected from that of E. Chambry, Paris

I The oblique stroke in the left-hand margin may be intended to draw attention to this omission.

44	221 21111	0121001011		
Fr. A			412 C	13, d 2
A; ὅτι μάλι than 6, and		5 [A [A [A [A [A A A A A A A A A A A A A A		y to be 5
Fr. B				413 d 1
]ιδυ ϵ ε ξ α	[μὲν μνήμο	να κα]ὶ δυςεξα-	
	$] au\epsilon o u \cdot au o$	[πάτητον έζ	γκρι]τέον· τὸ(ν)	
] $ov\eta\gamma a ho$:	$[\delta \hat{\epsilon} \ \mu \hat{\eta} \ \hat{a} \pi o]$	κριτ ϵ]ον. $\hat{\eta}$ γά $ ho$:	
	$]_{\mathcal{T}} \varGamma_{\boldsymbol{\epsilon}} [$	$[vai: \kappa ai \tau]$	τόνους] $\dot{\tau}$ Γ' $\dot{\epsilon}$ $[aec{v}$ καὶ]	
Fr. B	413 d 4: the correction 'γ' for	₹ is by the sar	ne scribe. τε Stob., γε ceteri	
Fr. C				413 e 5
]ιπολειχρη <i>cιμ[</i>]ηκαιτοναειεν[]αινεανιcκ[]ρας[.]βαςα[[τατος ε [παιςὶ κ]		

 $\mathbf{Fr.}\ \mathbf{C}\ \mathbf{A}\ \mathrm{small}\ \mathrm{fragment}\ \mathrm{which}\ \mathrm{is}\ \mathrm{mutilated}\ \mathrm{on}\ \mathrm{every}\ \mathrm{side}$

h

Fr. D, col.	i										414 a 3
5	•]]].va.] .v.	αρχ[.]ν κων[[μέγι [τα· ς [ποκρ [ἦν δ [κων [κατο [των	ιστα γ τον δε οιτέον, ἐγώ, ἡ ἐκλ (στας:: τε κα	έρα] λ μὴ τ , τοια , δοκε , ογὴ ε , τ]ῷι ὶ φυ]λ	ιαγχά οιοῦ]τ οίοῦ]τη τ ĉ μο]ι ĉ]ναι ι , ἀρχ[άκων,	$cov \stackrel{\circ}{a}$ - cic ,		
10		jijotak,		•		, π φ , μ		акрі	<i>ρεια</i> ε <u>ι</u>		
Fr. D, 1 δοκεΐ μοι Stol notes, 'ω ex	[ντες ων πω[.]οι αιοι ακουρ ους where line	es 10–12 sh	$\begin{bmatrix} \kappa \alpha c \\ [\xi \omega \theta \epsilon \\ [\tau \epsilon \ \epsilon'] \\ [\mu \epsilon] \nu \\ [\delta \epsilon \ \mu \tau \\ [\gamma \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu, \\ [\alpha ould b] \end{bmatrix}$		λε]ῖς α λεμίω διλίων ουλήςο ήςοντ δὲ νέ	ν τῶν το ν τῶν ν, ὅπω νται, αι και νους οι	[c] οί οί κουρ- υς		
Fr. E										4	µ14 b 5
	5 .	δ[.][λουμε[κα[χ[.[δ[ὴ] ν̞ῦ[ν λοῦμε[ν ϵ κα[ὶ βοηθ χ[όντων ϵ γ[ϵ δοκϵῦ	έπικού θοὺς τ δόγμα	ίρους το τοῖς το ιςιν; ἐ	τε ῶν ἀρ- ′μοι-]				

Fr. E. This tiny fragment belongs at the head of column ii of fragment D - 414 b 5: $\nu \hat{\nu} \nu$ $\delta \acute{\eta}$ FD

Fr. D, col. ii 414 b 9

		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · [νῦν ἐλέγομεν,] γεννα[ι̂όν τι]	
	ενψ[]ενους[.]ειςαι	$\hat{\epsilon}$ ν $\psi[\epsilon v \delta o \mu] \dot{\epsilon}$ νους $[\pi] \dot{\epsilon} \hat{\iota} c a \iota$	
	μαλί[]νκαιαυτούς	μάλι[ςτα μέ]ν καὶ αὐτοὺς	
	του[]ντας ειδεμη	τοὺ[ε ἄρχο]νταε εἰ δὲ μή,	
5	τηναλ[]ηνπολιν: ποιον	τὴν ἄλ[λ]ην πόλιν : Ποῖόν	
	τιεφ[]μηδενκαινον	$\overline{\tau\iota}$, ἔφ $[\eta:]$ Μηδὲν καινόν,	
	$\overline{\eta \nu \delta}[\ldots]$ $\omega \cdot$ $a\lambda \lambda a\phi[\ldots]$ νικι	$\overline{\mathring{\eta}_{ u}}$ δ' $[\mathring{\epsilon}_{\gamma}]$ ώ \cdot ἀλλὰ Φ [οι]νικι-	
	κουτιπροτερουμενηδη	κόν τι, πρότερον μὲν ἤδη	
	πολλαχουγεγονοςωςφα	πολλαχοῦ γεγονός, ὥς φα-	
10	<i>cινοιποιηταικαιπ</i> [<i>cιν οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ π[επεί-</i>	
	κατιν ϵ φημω $[$	κατιν, $\epsilon \dot{\phi}$ ήμ $\hat{\omega}[\nu$ δ $\dot{\epsilon}$ οὐ γεγο-]	
	$[\ldots] ov [\ldots] . [$	[νος] $ου[δ' οι]ο[α ει γενόμε-]$	
	y[.]y[]πειcαιδες[$ u[o]$ ν [ἄν,] $\pi\epsilon$ ι̂ςαι δὲ ς $[v\chi v\hat{\eta}\epsilon]$	
/	πειθουςωςεοικαςεφη	π ειθοῦς $\langle : \rangle$ ' Ω ς ἔοικας, ἔ $\phi \eta$,	
15	οκνουντιλεγειν : δο	<u>ὀκνοῦντι λέγειν : Δό-</u>	c 8
	ξωγεςοιηνδεγωκαιμαλ[$\xi \omega \gamma \epsilon' \cos, \hat{\eta} \nu \delta' \epsilon' \gamma \omega, \kappa \alpha \mu \hat{\lambda} [a]$	
	[.] i κ $.$ τως $[]$ y ε i [$]$ $π$ ε i δα v	$[\epsilon]$ ἰκότως $[\dot{o}\kappa]$ ν $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\imath}[\dot{v},\dot{\epsilon}]\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\grave{a}v$	
	$\overline{\epsilon\iota}$ $\pi[\ldots]$ φ $[\ldots]$ α ι μη ϕ ο	$\epsilon \ddot{\iota}$ π $[\omega : \Lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \acute{,} \acute{\epsilon}] \phi [\eta, \kappa]$ α $\dot{\iota}$ μ $\dot{\eta}$ φο-	
	βου[]ωδη·καιτοίουκ	\overline{eta} ο $\widehat{v}[\ : \varLambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma] \omega$ δή \cdot καίτοι οὐκ	

Fr. D, col. ii 414 b 9: νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν γενναῖόν τι εἶναι ψενδομένους Bekker, ἐνψενδομένους F; E. Chambry (Paris, 1932) reads ἔν ψενδομένους 414 c 8: ἀκνοῦντι Α Μ: ἄκνουν τι F D 414 c 9: δόξω δέ coι all editors, δόξω γέ coι F only. The particle γε may be defended as giving seriousness to the usual humorous colloquial emphasis καὶ μάλ'. Cf. Campbell, Plato's Republ. II (1894), pp. 203 seq., Smyth, Gr. Gram. §§ 2769 seqq., Denniston, The Greek Particles, pp. 122 seq. For δέ, agreed upon by the standard texts, an inceptive marking a contrast with the preceding speech, cf. Denniston, l.c., p. 172 μάλ[α: the mutilated part allows space for a letter α written in scriptio plena

h

IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

2752. Shorthand Commentary

 7.5×19 cm.

Second century

A fragment containing the beginnings of lines from the top of a column, with the end of the first line of the preceding column, from a version of the shorthand *Commentary*; written across the fibres in a rounded semi-cursive hand. The text is arranged in tetrads with the signs (without tetradic finals) on the left below the main elements in the usual manner (cf. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals*), but is from a non-extant version of the *Commentary*.

The recto contains parts of twenty-two lines from the top of a column of a document which refers to an uncertain year of Trajan (4 -] $\tau \omega$ ($\epsilon \tau \epsilon \iota$) $T\rho \alpha \iota \alpha \nu o \hat{\nu} \tau o \hat{\nu} \kappa \nu \rho lo\nu$ [). The lapse of time between use of the recto and verso is uncertain (cf. Turner, JEA xl (1954), pp. 102 seqq.), but the hand of the latter is at any rate second-century. If the uncertain fragment P. Harris 51 is set aside, it provides the earliest text yet published of the *Commentary*, and may rank as the oldest evidence of Greek shorthand (cf. Coles, 'Reports of Proceedings in Papyri' (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia* iv (1966)), pp. 14–15).

No attempt has been made to reproduce the signs, for which the reader is referred to the plate at the end of the volume.

Col. i	Verso Col. ii
]μεως	καθονδη[ποτετροπον
	υνις[
• •	$a\mu\eta[$
	каλ[
5	Ξοις[
	$\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \theta a [\iota$
	$c\kappa o hoig[$
	$\pi o \dot{\lambda} [$
	$\epsilon\iota\epsilon\mu[$
10	$a au\mu[$
	διηνενκ[
	į[
	$eta a \pi [$
	$ u\epsilon ig[$
15	$\pi\epsilon \dot{ au}a$
	$]\dots u au ho \sigma \pi o u [$
	$\eta \dots [$
	$\eta\mu\iota\dot{\chi}[$
	η [
20	η . [
]. εις [
	[
	L
	Ĺ
25	l
]νχρ.[
	Ĺ
	Ĺ
	L

ii 2 \dot{v} pap. 9 First ϵ appears to have been added afterwards; \ddot{v} pap. 17, 19, 20 After η , λ or μ

h

2753. MAGICAL SPELLS

Fr. D 15.0 × 15.5 cm.

Fourth century

The papyrus, on which 2751 was written, was cut in smaller pieces. On the verso of these pieces a magical text was written across the fibres. The verso of A is blank. We know from the recto text that Fr. E is to be placed in the same column, and above Fr. D; there are 5 lines lost between them. The handwriting on these fragments is the same, but their damaged state does not permit judgement as to whether one charm or two charms are represented. There are remains of a previous column written on the left of Fr. D. Since some lines in E can be restored from PGM II vii 226–30 and since D is to be restored from PGM II vii 231–41, P. Lond. i 121, p. 91. 230–46, continuity as a single charm becomes possible between E and D. Fr. C could be restored from PGM II i 58–61, P. Lond. i 121, 537–9, and therefore may also be a charm. We may believe that the remains of the column preceding D also deal with magic.

Fr. Ε] ἐπὶ τ[οῦ λύχνου]. ღελλυ[χεῖράν c]ου [καὶ εχεδόν του ι

χειράν c]ου [καὶ εχεδόν του ἐγρηγοροῦντος ηξει]ὁ θεὸ[ς καὶ λέξει τοι καὶ

Fr. D

ἐμ?]] μ[άξης τὴν ζωγραφίαν τῷ Ἰςιακῷ μέλανι]
 τ[ὸ δὲ ράκος] . . ξ.[.].[
 ἀ[ναλά]μβανε ὕδατι ὀμ[βρίμω ἐπὶ τοῦ]

λύχ[ν]ου λεγόμενος οὖτ[ος ὁ λόγος(?) ἐπικαλοῦμαί ςε]

5 τὸν ἀκέφαλον θεόν, τὸν [ἐν τοῖς ποςὶν ἔχοντα κεφαλὴν καὶ] τὴν [ὅ]ραςιν· ἀςτράπτοντ[α καὶ βροντάζοντα,] ςὰ εἶ οὖ τὸ ςτόμα πῦρ [διὰ] παντ[ὸς προςχέεται, ςὰ εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ] τῆς Ἀνάγκης· ἐπἰ[καλ]οῦμαί ςε [τὸν ἀκέφαλον]

θεον [....], [τον ἐν τοῖς ποςὶν ἔχοντα κεφαλήν καὶ ὅραςιν, Ἰς-

10 χυρ(ον) Β[η câν ἀμβλυωπόν. cừ εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ coρῷ κατα-]
κείμενος καὶ προ[c] κεφαλῆ[c]..[ἔχων]
ὑπαγκώνιον καὶ ἀςφάλτου μ[
[ο]ν δ[ένο]νειν Άνοὺθ ἄναντα [

[δ]ν λ[έγο]υτιν Άνοὺθ Άνοὺθ ἄνακτα.[[....οὐκ]' εἶ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ τὸ αῗμα τ[ῶν

15 καὶ τῶν $\bar{\lambda}$ καὶ τῶν ρδ \bar{i} ϵράκων `καὶ' τῷ[ν πρὸς κε-] φαλῆς τ[οῦ] Οὐςί[ρε]ως λαλούντω[ν] καὶ ἀ[γρυ-] [πνούντων

.

Fr. E] $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\dot{\iota}$ τ[οῦ λύχνου as in D4? If so, perhaps cf. PGM II vii 226. 2 ? τ]οῦ $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\upsilon$ [χνίου.

Fr. D 3 ὅδωρ ὅμβριμον: see P. Lond. i 121, 224-6. The headless god says about himself that he is

ίδρως δμβρος (BCH xxxviii (1914), p. 197), in P. Lond. i 46, 152, p. 70.

5 The god whose power is asked for is the ἀκέφαλος θεός who was usually asked for aggressive magic. His function is described in the Testament of Solomon (ed. C. C. McCown, Leipzig, 1922) where in 9, 1 he is Phonos (= slaughter), cf. A. Delatte, 'Études sur magie grecque', in BCH xxxviii (1914), pp. 189 seqq.; K. Preisendanz, 'Akephalos, der kopflose Gott', in Beihefte zum alten Orient vii (Leipzig, 1926); Bonner, Studies in Magical Amulets (Chicago, 1950), pp. 58, 110–11, 164–6, et passim; PGM II vii 230–49, viii 65–110; P. Lond. i 121, pp. 92, 222–71. This god is usually described as τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποκὶν ἔχοντα τὴν ὅρακιν κτλ., cf. PGM vii 234, viii 91; Bonner, l.c., p. 110. The length of line in 2753 is entirely uncertain; perhaps the shorter formula without κεφαλὴν καὶ should be restored in 5 and 9.

9-10 Restored to follow 8. In the beginning of 10, there is either χαρ or χυρ. It is likely to contain a nomen magicum which could be εραχαξ (PGM II vii 447) or Ἰεχυρός (BCH 1914, p. 196, P. Lond.

i 46, 18), two names used in addressing the headless god.

12 The usual form is ρητίνης καὶ ἀςφάλτου, PGM II vii 237, viii 99.

15 The number is not constant in the various papyri: ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν $\overline{\iota \beta}$ ἱεράκων τῶν πρὸς κεφαλῆς, P. Lond. i 121, 239–40; ἀλλὰ τὸ ⟨αἷμα⟩ τῶν β΄ ἱεράκων, PGM II vii 240; ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα τῶ⟨ν⟩ δύο ἱεράκων, ibid. viii 100.

16 Οὐεί[ρε]ωε is likely. In other places we meet κεφαλη̂ε Οὐρανοῦ, PGM II vii 240; ρείμες, ibid. vii 100. Osiris, as is known, was beheaded by Set-Typhon who was also beheaded (cf. Bonner, l.c., p. 165). This may interpret the relation between the headless god and Osiris. This relation is clear in

ΡGΜ Ι ν 97-102, εὲ καλῶ τὸν ἀκέφαλον . . . εὐ εἶ 'Ο εορόννωφρις.

Fr. B

Fr. C

κ]αὶ ἀπ' ἀκαθαρ[cίας

].υς

] ἐπὶ τοῦ λύχν[ου

]ν

δλ]ομέλας π.[

V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

2754. EDICT CONCERNING LEGAL PROCEDURE

25×22.5 cm.

A.D. III

This well-preserved sheet of papyrus contains a series of somewhat disjointed injunctions, mostly concerning matters of legal procedure, clearly from a prefectural edict. The text begins without any form of prescript (though it is of course possible that there was a preceding column), and it may be that it is a précis of the edict or simply preserves extracts from it (that only one edict is concerned is suggested by the last line). The prefect will have been Sulpicius Similis.

It is of course possible that $\pi\rho\sigma\tau\epsilon\theta'\eta\tau\omega$ (l. 13) was copied along with the last set of instructions, thus referring only to that, when this series of extracts was made. The provisions in fact split up into four sections, namely lines 1–5, 5–7, 7–8, and 8–13; and it is between these sections that asyndeton occurs. The three last (ll. 5–13) deal with judicial procedure with regard to the conventus, the first (ll. 1–5) with administrative matters which might also come within the scope of the conventus. It may be that what we have comes from a specific set of provisions issued to regulate proceedings at a coming conventus. Since we have the date Pharmouthi 1 in l. 13, this could not be earlier than that in Alexandria in June–August, if the dates suggested by Wilcken (Archiv iv 415 seqq.) are right. Possibly the fragmentary BGU 288 is relevant also.

The text is written in a spiky semi-cursive; there is a wide lower margin of 13 cm. The verso is blank.

Τῶν ἐπιcινῶν ἢ ἄλλαις αἰτίαις ἀπολυθῆναι βουλομένων οἱ κωμογραμματεῖς ἔνορκοι τὰ ὀνόματα διδότως τοῦ ςτρατηγοῦ παρακολουθοῦντος οἱ ξὲ πλαςτοῖς (vac.) ὑποδυόμενοι ὀνόμας οὐ χρηματικὴν πείςονται ζημίαν, τὸν τοῦ θεῶν ἐμφανεςτάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίςαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Cεβαςτοῦ Γερμανικοῦ

Δακικοῦ πλανῶντες ἔλαιον, οὐδεμίαν οἱ τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐμφερόμενοι παραίτηςιν ἔξουςιν ὑπερτίθεςθαι βουλόμενοι, πάλαι τοῦ διαλογιςμοῦ τὴν προθεςμίαν εἰδότες, τὰς δωροδοκίας ἐπὶ πᾶςι κωλύω γείνεςθαι, μὴ νῦν πρῶτον ἀπογορεύων τὸ κακούργημα τοῦτο, οἱ φίλους ἡγεμονικοὺς λαβόντες πρότερον κριτὰς καὶ μὴ ἀπαρτιςθέντες ἐντυνχανέτωςαν Ἰουλίω Μαξίμω τῷ ἀρχιτοτάτορι φίλωι, οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς τῶν προτεθέντων τοῦ διαλογιςμοῦ ἐξήκε[ο]ντος μὴ φθάςῃ ἀκουςθῆναι δυνήςεται ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ νομού ςτρατηγοῦ κριθῆναι, ἐὰν δὲ οἱ κριταὶ αἴτιοι γέ[ν]ωνται τῆς παρ[ο]λκῆς, καθέξω αὐτοὺς μέτχρι ἂν ἀπαρτίςωςι τὰς διαγνώςει[ς], προτεθήτω, (ἔτους) ιδ΄΄ Φαρμοῦθι ā.

4 τραϊανου pap. 5 l. ἔλεον 7 ειδοτες pap. 7–8 l. ἀπαγορεύων 10 c of πρός corr. from v? First τ of προτεθέντων corr. (from θ ?) 11 Correct to νομόν, see commentary

'The village-secretaries are to present under oath the names of those who are infirm or who wish to be released on other grounds, with the strategus supervising. It will be no monetary penalty that those will suffer who assume feigned names, abusing the clemency of the most manifest of gods, the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus. Those concerned in the petitions and wishing to defer the case will have no excuse, having known long ago the time fixed for the conventus. I absolutely prohibit the receiving of bribes, not now for the first time forbidding this evil. Let those who have obtained friends of the prefect on a previous occasion as judges and who have not yet had their cases settled petition Julius Maximus, archistator and friend, the others to the . . . [see note on 10–12]. If anyone of those whose names have been posted at the termination of the conventus has not already obtained a hearing, he will be able to be judged before the nome-strategus. But should the judges be responsible for the delay, I will detain them until they settle the cases. Let this be publicly displayed. The 14th year, Pharmouthi 1.'

1–2 For infirmity of one kind or another as a claim for dispensation from liturgies, cf. P. Flor. 312, 5; 382 (= 57), 63; PSI 1103, 14; and 889 18; perhaps also P. Fay. 106. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 390, n. 5; Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, pp. 20–1; Lewis, *Atti Milano*, 518–21.

3 Perhaps the sentence should run οὐ <μόνον> χρηματικήν?

8 φίλους ἡγεμονικούς: does this mean the officials to whom the prefect delegated cases? (One might note M. Chr. 372 iv 13, and 706 6; but the φίλοι there are legal advisers, not actual judges as in the present text.)

9–10 On the archistator see Gilliam, CP lvi (1961), pp. 100–3.

10–12 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κτλ. There must be some corruption here (apart from writing errors, for which see the app. crit.: perhaps indicative of confusion?). τούς (l. 10) needs a complement. The simplest solution perhaps is to assume an omission at this point, thus: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ⟨- - - . ἐὰν δέ τις⟩ τῶν προτεθέντων κτλ. The content of the missing clause is not obvious, but the slip from τούς to τις would not be difficult. This emendation points out the difference between the fact that there are cases still unsettled from a previous conventus and the intention that no cases should continue unsettled after the coming conventus. For οἱ προτεθέντες cf., e.g., P. Hamb. 29, 3–4. The apparent judicial competence of the strategus (ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ νομὸν cτρατηγοῦ κριθῆναι, ll. 11–12), without mention of any directive from the prefect, is perhaps to be explained by abridgement in making the present text; the clause is tantamount to a general delegation. The strategi are presumably to take action in the nomes rather than at the conventus-centre.

2755. EDICT OF CARACALLA

8.4×11.6 cm.

Third century

Twelve lines, broken on all sides, identified as another text of the second edict of Caracalla preserved in the well-known P. Giss. 40 (col. ii 1–15). The present papyrus contains about a third of the edict proper. In a few places its text differs from or serves to restore the reading of P. Giss. 40. A second hand has added some alterations, sometimes changing to the Giessen version where the first hand had written otherwise but sometimes diverging from it when the first hand already had it.

The text is written along the fibres in an official hand not unlike that of P. Giss. 40 but somewhat lighter; the alterations are in a heavier slanting hand. The verso is blank.

]...[.]ς μν ἀποδίδωμι [

ἀπ]οφάς εως εἰς τὸ διακατέχειν [

] καὶ τούτοις τοῖς μετὰ ταῦ[τα

] πρὸς χρόνον κωλυθεῖς ι'ν' μετὰ τ[ὸ

διάς τημ] ᾳ οὐκ ὀνειδις θής ετὰ ἡ τῆς ἀ[τιμίας

φανε] ρόν ἐς τιν [πῶς] πλήρ [ης] [

]ς] ἴνα μή [τις ς τενότερον] [

τῶ] ν ρημάτων τοῦ προτέρου δ[ιατάγματος
] ὑπος τρεφέτως αν πάντε [ς

ἐλευ] θέραν με τούτοις πᾶς ιν τ[ὴν
] τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμη [ν
ἐδοκί] μας α ἵνα μηδ' αὐτοῖς ἢ [

4 ν of κωλυθεῖcι ν' added by second hand 9 $\ddot{v}πο$ - pap. 11 After γην a high stroke of ink 12 $\ddot{v}να$ pap. δαυ written in rather messy fashion There are two spots of ink below the end of this line. They are too high up to be from the line below: they may, however, be from an alteration to that line

I Only the feet of letters of this line remain. ἀποδίδωμι can be read with some certainty, but

before ϵ_{ij} the traces are vague. However, they can perhaps be interpreted as $]\chi\eta\kappa[o]\epsilon_{ij}$.

3 τούτοις τοῖς μετά: cf. ll. 3–4 in P. Giss. 40 ii. At the end of l. 3 the Giessen papyrus was read as του[..]; = του[τοι]ς? If so, τοῖς has been omitted. μετά: so presumably P. Giss., l. 4 init. Should the Giessen text after this be restored τῆς τά[ξε]ως ϵαντῶν ⟨ῆ⟩ς υ[νη]γορίας (cf. the Roman Law citations in ed. pr., p. 35)? (So already Schubart and Gradenwitz, ZSS xxxvi (1915), p. 425 (BL i 462).)

6 Neither reading nor implication of the first alteration is clear. Both attempts to correct $\pi \lambda \dot{\eta} \rho \eta c$ seem to be by the second hand. The combination of readings suggests that $\pi \hat{\omega} c \pi \lambda \dot{\eta} \rho \eta$ of the

Giessen text was the reading intended.

Appended is a revised text of the edict from 1. 3 of the Giessen version; underlining indicates the overlaps of P. Giss. 40 ii with the new fragment.

³ ἀποφάςεως εἰς τὸ διακατέχειν ἢ λαμβάνειν τὰς πολιτικὰς τιμάς. καὶ τούτοις ⟨τοῖς⟩
 ⁴ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς τάξεως ἑαυτῶν ⟨ἢ⟩ ςυνηγορίας πρὸς χρόνον κωλυθεῖςι μετὰ τὸ
 ⁵ πληρωθῆναι τὸ τοῦ χρόνου διάςτημα οὐκ ὀνειδιςθήςεται ἡ τῆς ἀτιμίας παραςη ⁶ μείωςις.
 καὶ εἰ φανερόν ἐςτιν πῶς πλήρη τὴν χάριτά μου παρενέθηκα, ὅμως ⁷ ἵνα μή τις ςτενότερον παρερμηνεύςῃ τὴν χάριτά μου ἐκ τῶν ῥημάτων τοῦ ⁸ προτέρου διατάγματος, ἐν ῷ

οὕτως ἀπεκρινάμην· ὑποςτρεφέτως αν πάντες ⁹ εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τὰς ἰδίας, ἐλευθέραν με τούτοις πᾶςιν τὴν ἐπάνοδον δεδωκέναι ¹⁰ εἰς ἄπας αν τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην τὴν ἐμὴν δηλωτέον ἐδοκίμας α, ἵνα μὴ ¹¹ παρ' αὐτοῖς (μηδ' αὐτοῖς Ρ. Οχγ.) ξἢ δειλίας αἰτία μηδὲ (ἤ Ρ. Giss., ? Ρ. Οχγ.) παρὰ τοῖς κακοήθες ν ἐπηρείας ἀφορμὴ ὑπολειφθῆ.

2756. Declaration concerning Residence in Alexandria

10×11.4 cm.

A.D. 78/9

Sworn declaration to an amphodarch (r note) from a father that his son is temporarily resident in Alexandria. The information was required by an order of the prefect, no doubt on account of the poll-tax: see ll. 13 seqq. The lower part of the text is missing.

A particular point of interest supplied by the papyrus is the establishment of the correct *nomen* of the prefect C. Aeternius Fronto (Stein, *Die Präfekten*, p. 39) and the confirmation of his altered dating (8 note).

I am indebted to Professor Youtie for advice on this text.

 $\vec{a} \mu \phi \delta \hat{a} \rho \chi [\eta]$] (vac.) $[\Delta \rho \delta \mu o v] \Theta \rho [\dot{\eta}] \rho \rho \delta \delta c$ [παρὰ Νικά]νορος τοῦ ζωςτράτου [καὶ] [...] [...] a τος μητρός Θ αις $\hat{\alpha}$ τος $[\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon]$ Πτολεμαίου ἀμφοτέρων τῶ[ν] 5 $\mathring{a}\pi$ $O\xi\nu\rho\dot{\nu}\gamma[\chi]\omega\nu$ $\pi\dot{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega[c]$. $\pi\rho\dot{o}c$ $\tau\dot{a}$ $[\tau a\chi-]$ θέντα ύπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡγεμόν[ος] Αἰτερνί[ο]υ Φρόντωνος περὶ τῶν έπ' Άλεξανδρίας διατριβόντ[ων] έπερωτώμενοι ύφ' ήμῶν ὑπὲρ 10 τοῦ Ν[ι]κάνορος υἱοῦ Ἰςιδώρου γερδί[ου] ἀποφαινόμεθα τοῦτον ἐπ' Ἀλεξ[αν-] δρίας διατρίβειν καὶ ἐν δμολόγ[ω λα-] αγραφίας τοῦ ἐνεςτῶτος ἑνδεκ [άτου] ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορο[ς Οὐεςπαςιανοῦ] 15 ζεβαςτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ ἀμφόδου Δρό-] [μο] υ [Θ] οήριδος καὶ [ὀμνύομεν Αὐ-] [τοκ]ράτορα Κα[ί]ςα[ρα

10 l. δμῶν 13-14 l. λαογραφίας

33

'To . . ., amphodarch of the Avenue of Thoeris, from Nicanor, son of Sostratos, and . . ., her mother being Thaisas daughter of Ptolemaeus, both of the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In response to the orders of the lord prefect Aeternius Fronto concerning those sojourning in Alexandria, questioned by you concerning Isidorus, the son of Nicanor, weaver, we declare that he is sojourning in Alexandria and is in the official list of poll-tax payers for the present eleventh year of the Emperor Vespasian Augustus in the same quarter of the Avenue of Thoeris; and we swear by the Emperor Caesar . . .

I It is not absolutely certain that this is the top line of the document; thus there may have been other addressees before the amphodarch (10 note). \mathring{a}] $\mu\phi$ 0 $\delta\acute{a}\rho\chi[\eta:$ apparently the only appearance of this official so far in Oxyrhynchus. Note, however, 257 22, 2186 6.

4] $\alpha\tau\rho\sigma$, if correct, may be from a feminine name. Two declarants are required ($a\mu\phi\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$ in 5). Perhaps we have here the wife of Nicanor, perhaps $a\pi\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ and so identified through her mother and grandfather, as the most likely identification of the second declarant.

6-7 $[\tau \alpha \chi]\theta \acute{\epsilon} \nu \tau \alpha$: the supplement at the end of 6 can hardly have been much longer, so that

 $[\pi\rho\circ c\tau a\chi]\theta\epsilon' \nu\tau a$ or $[\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\epsilon]\theta\epsilon' \nu\tau a$ must be excluded.

8 Αἰτερνί[ο]ν Φρόντωνος: the papyrus may be presumed to supply the correct name of this prefect, palaeographically close to (the apparent) Λιτερνίου of the Froehner vase (Robert, Collection Froehner i 119, no. 75; = AE 1937, p. 236) which is supported by Codex C (Urbinas) of Josephus, Bell. Iud. vi 4, 3. Aeternius is the reading in the Latin version of Bell. Iud., to which the variants in the other leading MSS. are closer. As regards his date, ἐνδεκ[άτου] in 14 supports Pflaum's revision of the Froehner vase inscription (Latomus x (1951), p. 473); Οὐεςπαςιανοῦ has therefore been supplied in l. 15.

10 ημων: the first letter is broken but does not appear to be v.

13–14 Perhaps read $\lambda a \circ \frac{1}{4} \gamma \rho a \phi i a c$? The present text, if correctly restored, enables a reassessment to be made of the phrase $\delta \mu o \lambda ($) $\lambda a o \gamma \rho ($) (see, e.g., Wessely, SPP i 10; 478 22 note; P. Ryl. 209, 10 note; and Van Groningen, Mnem. N.S. l (1922), pp. 124–37). In all the examples noted of these words in connection, both are abbreviated, except in 478 22–3, δi $\delta \mu o \lambda \delta \gamma o v$ $\lambda a o \gamma \rho a \phi i a c$, where the double genitive is ambiguous for purposes of analysis. It now appears that $\delta \mu o \lambda \delta \gamma o v$ should be treated as a noun, since in 2756 ϵv implies a dative, which will then have been followed by a genitive. P. Wisc. 17, 15–16 and 22 show that δi $\delta \mu o \lambda \delta \gamma o v$ $\lambda a o \gamma \rho a \phi i a c$ is equivalent in meaning to $\delta i a \lambda a o \gamma \rho a \phi i a c$.

16 αὐτ[οῦ: for the form of τ , cf. the first τ of Αὐτοκράτορος in 15.

2757. Extracts from Prefectorial Records

20 × 12 cm.

post A D. 79

The name of the prefect of the summer of A.D. 70 (see 2349) is illuminated by this papyrus, which has been cited in the latest list of prefects (BASP iv 4, pp. 83 seq.). The piece has the top margin and parts of two columns numbered $\iota\epsilon$ and $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$, and headed $K\delta\lambda\omega\nu$ 0c and Λ 0 $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$, i.e. L. Peducaeus Colo(?) and Ti. Julius Lupus. That $K\delta\lambda\omega\nu$ 0c is genitive is further confirmed by line 5, ending $\Pi\epsilon\delta$ 00 $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$ 0c would be contrary to the usual rules. 2349 26 reads $\Pi\epsilon\delta$ 00 $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$ 0c would be $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$ 1c. (Stein, $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$ 26 reads $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$ 37 (Stein, $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$ 38), then corrected to $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$ 38 xliv (1954), p. 116) and printed $\iota[\mathfrak{S}]$ 39.

Colo is attested, once and not without doubt, as a *nomen*, see Schulze, Gesch. lat. Eigenn., pp. 295, 313 (CIL viii 15472), but the Latin colonus is rendered by $\kappa \delta \lambda \omega \nu$, e.g. in 2476 32, 48. Consequently the Latin form of this man's cognomen is still in some doubt, but the Greek one is certainly $K\delta\lambda\omega\nu$ here and probably the same in 2349 26. Colonus as a Roman name has only two dubious attestations, one an inscription, where

C 5884

a woman's name may be *Colona P. f. Maxima* (Schulze, op. cit., p. 295), though the copies differ seriously (*CIL* v 3361), and the other Pliny, *Ep.* ix, 9, where the recipient's name is given in the a family of manuscripts as *Colono* but in the rest as *Coloni*. Here *Colono* is accepted by the editors and by Syme (*JRS* lviii (1968), p. 147).

Each column contains a decision of the prefect named in the heading, preceded by the date of delivery, the names of the litigants, and the introductory phrase $\epsilon \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \rho \eta \theta \epsilon \nu \tau \omega \nu$. Though the subjects of the two decisions are not absolutely clear because of the fragmentary state of the papyrus, it seems reasonable to think that the roll was a collection for use in some particular proceedings.

The back contains parts of three columns of accounts written across the fibres in at least three hands and much abbreviated.

	1
] K όλωνος $(m. 2)$ $\iota \bar{\epsilon}$
(m. 1)	ἔτους . $ heta$] ϵ οῦ O ὖ ϵ επαειανοῦ Φ α $\hat{\omega}$ φι ι $ar{ heta}$
] δ καὶ Τμ.ρος πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον []
].ς τοῦ τετελευτηκότος αὐτοῦ διδύμου
5	άδελφοῦ. ἐκ] τῶν ῥηθέντων. Πεδουκαῖος Κόλων
	τὸ χ]ειρόγραφον ὅτι μὲν οὐ παραπεποίηται
	δηλον πεποί]ηκεν αὐτὸς ὁ τὴν παραποίηςιν κατηγο-
	ρῶν] γὰρ φωνῆς ἀκινδύνου τὸ ἔνκλημα ες-
]ενγράψαι οὐ τετόλμηκεν εἰκότως
10]ε় χειρόγραφον αὐτὸ καλεςειεναλλα
	\ldots]κης τῆς ὅτι νομίμως ἐτέθη μη α ρ
	\ldots]ητουμένης. εἴ γε δε $\llbracket \delta vert \llbracket \delta vert \llbracket \delta vert Vert$
].φάλιςται πᾶν ὅ τι ἐὰν[
	\cdots τοῦτο εἶναι κ \cdots
15].τουτο.[
]τον κ[

¹ So Schuster; Mynors (O.C.T.) has 'Colono M: Coloni γ'.

	$Λούπου$ $(m. 2)$ $\iota[\varsigma]$
(m. 1)	$\tilde{\epsilon}$ τους $\bar{\epsilon}$ θ εο \hat{v} $O\dot{v}$ εςπαςια[νο \hat{v} (month) (day)
	Θαυήτιον δι' ἐγδίκου Θαμου[πρὸς
	έκ τῶν ῥηθέντων. Ἰούλιος Λοῦπ[ος πυθόμενος
5	Άρείου τοῦ νομικοῦ τί περὶ τῶν .[κελεύ-
	ουτιν οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς ὅτι οὔτε .[
	<i>ἐν ὧι δεῖ διατάςςεςθαι οὔτε γραμμα</i> [
	ναι, έξουςίαν δὲ τοῖς πατράςι δεδώκ[αςιν ἀποκληρο-
	νόμους ποιείν τῶν παίδων οῧς ἐὰν θ[έλωςιν
10	έξ άπάντων ἐπεγνωκὼς καὶ τὴν [διαθήκην (?) μὴ οὖςαν
	παράνο[μο]ν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐξουςία[ν κεκτημένον
	οΰς ἐὰν θέλη τ]ῷν πείδων ἀποκληρον[όμους ποιεῖν
	$\cdots\cdots$] υ $\tau\epsilon au\epsilon$ $\lambda[\epsilon]\upsilon au\eta\kappa \acute{o} au[o\epsilon(?)$
	····· [(vac.) []
15	

12 Ι. παίδων

(N.B. The translation takes into account supplements suggested in the notes and with so much of the text lost can only be an approximate guide at the best.)

i '15. Colo. . . . th year of the deified Vespasian, Phaophi 19th. X, alias Tmarus (?), versus Apollonius (and Y, sons?) of his deceased twin brother. From the record. Peducaeus Colo: "That (this?) contract has not been forged has been made clear by the very man who alleges the forgery. For he manufactured (?) the allegation out of (?) words, running no risk, but did not dare to put it in writing, naturally (and very wisely?). The contract itself will require (alteration of the will?), about which (there is no shadow of a dispute even now?) that it was lawfully made. And if indeed . . ."

ii '16. Lupus. Fifth year of the deified Vespasian, (month, day). Thauetion, through her representative, Thamou..., versus Z. From the record. Julius Lupus, after inquiring from Areius, the legal expert, what the laws provide (in such cases?) and learning that they (prescribe?) neither (a form?) in which one must make a will nor the language (in which wills should be written?), and give fathers power to disinherit whichever of their children they wish: "Since I have learnt from all (the evidence? or the assessors?) both that (the will is not?) contrary to the law and that the father is possessed of the power to disinherit whichever of his children he wishes . . . "'

i ι ι ē. The petition of Dionysia (237) runs to 9 columns though broken at both ends. It may be that these were precedents attached to a petition.

2 By comparing this line with the spaced layout of ii 2 we can calculate that there are about 9

letters lost at the beginning of each subsequent line.

The year number cannot be restored with certainty. The only known date for Colo is shortly before 27th July, A.D. 70 (2 Vespasian, Kaisareios 3 in 2349 4 seq.). On our present information about his predecessor it is possible that his term of office goes back to the 16th October (Phaophi 19th here), A.D. 69, in which case the year would be the second; year 3 (16th October, A.D. 70) would be closest to the known date; 16th October, A.D. 71 (year 4) is also a possible date, though his successor Lupus apparently entered office in the course of this fourth regnal year.

 θ] $\epsilon o\hat{v}$. The copy is later than the death of Vespasian, 23rd June, A.D. 79. The handwriting does

not permit a close dating, but it seems to be of the late first or early second century.

3 Τμάρος seems the most probable reading in spite of an apparent trace between the tops of alpha and rho. As a personal name this would be new, though it is listed in Pape, Eigennamen, as a variant of Τόμαρος, the mountain at Dodona.

4 Possible lines for a supplement might be (1) [$\kappa \alpha t$] at the end of 3, followed in 4 by a short name in the accusative and vio vc, or (2) the name of Apollonius' father—with a genitive in -ove—qualified

by the following phrase, 'his dead twin brother'.

5 έκ τῶν ρηθέντων. Cf. 237 vii 40.

6 It would be convenient to fill out the beginning of the line with εἶπεν. τὸ χ]ειρόγραφον, but the earliest occurrence of the eimer formula is dated to A.D. 90 (R. A. Coles, Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 4, p. 41). After the consultation formula in ii 4 seqq., [πυθόμενος] Άρείου τοῦ νομικοῦ τί etc., it seems even harsher to omit $\epsilon i\pi\epsilon\nu$ in ii 9 and since these 'consultation' formulas are earliest attested in 706 (c. A.D. 115), Coles, op. cit., p. 51, it may be that the είπεν formula occurred here. However, on the present evidence it will be better to supply no introductory verb and use a stop-gap, e.g. τοῦτο τὸ χ]ειρόγραφον.

8 φωνης ἀκινδύνου. This looks like a technical term, but I have found no other example of it. The sense obviously is that the allegation was made orally to avoid the penalty for false accusation. Restore, e.g. (space for punctuation?) μετὰ] γὰρ φωνῆς ἀκινδύνου τὸ ἔνκλημα ἐς [[κεύακεν ἀλλ'] ἐνγράψαι οὐ τετόλμηκεν, εἰκότως . . . 'He manufactured the allegation out of words, running no risk, but he did

not dare to put it in writing, naturally . . .

το The obvious restoration here is simply το δ] ε χειρόγραφον αὐτό, but a stop-gap for the beginning of the line is hard to think of; εἰκότως [νοῦν ἔχων or [εῦ φρονῶν would do for the sense perhaps, but the

space is too short.

The following sentence is also intractable. Perhaps τὸ δ]ἐ χειρόγραφον αὐτὸ καλέςει ἐναλλα[γὴν διαθή]κης της ὅτι νομίμως ἐτέθη μηδὲ ἄρ[τι ἀμφιςβ]ητουμένης. 'And the contract itself will require alteration of the will, about which there is no shadow of dispute even now that it was legally drawn up.' The alternative articulation καλέςειεν άλλα[is more attractive than ἐναλλα[γήν, but I cannot construct a satisfactory sentence with it.

 $\delta_{\epsilon}[\delta_{\epsilon}]$. The last two letters are struck through several times; the cancellation may extend back to δε where there seems to be one line crossing the letters, but it looks like an accident. The second bracket (1) is omitted because there is no means of judging how far the cancellation extended,

though the simplest possibility is a dittography of $\delta\epsilon$.

ii 3 Θαμου[. Upsilon is probable. The only known names beginning in this way are feminine, yet it seems more likely that this is the name of Thauetion's representative than that it is the name of another woman whose representative acted also for Thauetion.

5 νομικοῦ. Cf. Taubenschlag, Law², p. 518. Areius is not in the list in W. Kunkel, Herkunft u.

soziale Stellung d. röm. Juristen, 269 seqq.

[. 7[most likely; v[possible. The evidence is too slight for a specific supplement, but a general one, τ[οιούτων is perhaps enough.

6 . [. ∈ most likely.

7 ἐν ὧι δεῖ διατάςςεςθαι. The antecedent is perhaps something like τύπος, e.g. ἐ[κτεθείκαςι τύπον] ἐν ῶι δεῖ δ., but this is long by comparison with 8, where the restoration δεδώκ[αςιν ἀποκληρο] νόμους—

12 letters—is virtually certain.

γραμμα[. This may well be a reference to language i.e. γράμματα Αἰγύπτια or Ἑλληνικά, cf. WB. s.v. γράμμα (3). Restore perhaps γράμμα $[τα ἐν οἷς γραφ<math>\hat{\eta}]|ναι$, sc. δε $\hat{\iota}$ from 7 and, awkwardly, I must admit, $\delta\iota a\theta\dot{\eta}\kappa\alpha c$ as subject of $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\hat{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota$. The active infinitive of a - $\mu\iota$ verb will be better if a plausible one can be thought of.

8 ἀποκληρο]νόμους. Cf. 12. For the whole clause compare perhaps MChr. 84 15 τον των Αλγυπτίων

νόμον διδόναι έξους ίαν παςι τοις διατιθεμένοις καταλείπειν οίς βούλονται τὰ ίδια.

9 $\theta[\epsilon \lambda \omega \epsilon \nu]$. The end of this line may easily have been left blank if there was no introductory verb,

12 πείδων. Comparison with 9 indicates that παίδων is intended, but the form of the letter suggests that the writer made an epsilon by mistake.

14 After the gap there is a long diagonal rising from the left at a shallow angle. This and the vacant space suggest that the prefect's judgement ended with 13 or the first half of 14 and was followed after a space by something else. The diagonal could be the mark of a numeral, standing in 15, where only a few tops of letters remain.

2758. PETITION TO THE STRATEGUS ARCHIAS

20.2 × 8.8 cm.

c. A.D. 110-12

Heraclas son of Pausirion presents a petition against Apollos son of Heraclides, both from Oxyrhynchus, that he had insulted his wife Taamois. A similar complaint is found in P. Osl. 22, A.D. 127 (JEA xl (1954), pp. 32 seq.). The handwriting, of slowly written documentary type, is similar to P. Phil. 1, A.D. 125 (C. H. Roberts, Greek Literary Hands, p. 13).

Αρχία ετρα(τηγῶ) παρὰ Ἡρακλᾶτος Παυcειρίωνος ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως. τη διελθού*cη* € οψίτερον της ώρας 5 Άπολλῶς Ἡρακλείδου ἀπὸ της αὐτης πόλ(εως) γεινόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀμφόδῳ ἐπῆλθεν τῆ γυναικί μου Τααμόιτι οὔςη πρὸ τῆς θύρας μεθύ-ΙΟ ων καὶ έξελυδόρης εν καὶ ἀνές(ο)υρεν αὐτή(ν), παρόντων πλείςτων ἀξιοχρέων ἀ⟨ν⟩δρῶ[ν]ών τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥητοῦ δηλώςω. διὸ ἐπιδιδοὺ[ς] 15 τὸ ἀναφόριον, ἀξιῶ ἐκδ[ι-] κηθηναι ὅπως ε[ί]ς τὸ μέλλον ἀνεπηρέα [ςτος ςὺν] τοῖς ἐμοῖς φυλαχ θ [$\hat{\omega}$. (ἔτους) $\iota\delta$?] Αὐτοκράτορος Καίςα[ρος] 20 Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ ([εβαςτοῦ] Γ ερμανικοῦ Δ ακ[ικο] $\hat{v}[...]$

1 $c\tau\tilde{\rho}$ pap. 6-7 $d\pi\dot{o}$ $\tau\hat{\eta}c$ $α\dot{v}\tau\hat{\eta}c$ $\pi\dot{o}\lambda(\epsilon\omega c)$ added later by a second hand

11 Ι. έξελοιδόρης εν

'To Archias the strategus from Heraclas son of Pausirion from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. On the past fifth (day) in the evening, Apollos son of Heraclides from the same city, who dwells in the same district, while he was drunk attacked my wife Taamois while she was in front of the door and he abused and exposed her. There were many important men present, whose names I shall report on the day fixed for the hearing. Therefore I deliver my petition and I ask you to avenge me and to prevent him from hurting me and my household for the future. 14th(?) year of the reign of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus . . .'

I Archias the strategus is not to be found in the lists of Bilabel, RE 1931, art. 'Strategus'; H. Henne, Liste de stratèges; G. Mussies, P. Lugd. Bat. xiv. In an unedited document about sale of land from Oxyrhynchus dated A.D. 110–11, a certain Archias is involved in the sale of ousiac land and the proposal of the seller passes through him. In such cases the official was usually the strategus (cf. P. Amh. 68, 97). If this identification is right, it is likely that he is the same Archias as in 2758, which could be dated not far from A.D. 110–11 since the period of office of the strategus was three years (cf. J. G. Tait, JEA viii (1922), pp. 166–73).

4-5 ὀψίτερον with part. gen. is frequent in the papyri, as in, e.g., BGU 759, 6, A.D. ii; cf. Moulton, Prol., p. 72, Mayser, ii² 127. But also διὰ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄδηλον (P. Osl. inv. 1482, 16 and note, A.D. 127,

in JEA xl (1954), p. 32).

7 The verb γίνομαι with ἐπί and dative is used in the same meaning as καταγίνομαι 'to dwell'.

11 καὶ ἐξελυδόρητεν καὶ ἀνέτ{ο}υρεν αὐτή⟨ν⟩: the clause is a novelty in such assaults (cf. JEA xl (1954), p. 32, l. 21 n.). The compound ἐκλοιδορέω is met here for the first time.

22 The mutilated part may be similar to P. Osl. ii 28.

2759. REVOCATION OF A WILL

30×11.8 cm.

19 April, A.D. 116

Notification sent to the agoranomoi by one of their assistants that, in accordance with the instructions of the strategus Apollonius, he had given back to Potamon the will which he had made some days before (ll. 1–15) and the signature of Potamon that he received the will (ll. 15–18).

Parallel texts all come from Oxyrhynchus and they all fall within the same 20-year period. The closest parallel is 106 of A.D. 135. Our document is an official statement, as are also 106 and 601 (= Cair. Mus. 10005 = P. Preis. 32) of A.D. 116. 601 is addressed to the agoranomoi by the $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota o\phi \dot{\nu}\lambda a\dot{\xi} \dot{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\tau\dot{\eta}\epsilon\epsilon\omega\nu$, but 106 is addressed by the $\dot{\nu}\pi\eta\rho\dot{\epsilon}\tau\eta\epsilon$, as in our document. 107 and 178 (publ. in full by A. E. Samuel, JJP xiii (1961), pp. 39–42) are acknowledgements addressed to one and the same person, Horion the scribe of the agoranomeion of the city of Oxyrhynchus, by two different persons stating that they received back their wills. P. bibl. univ. Giessen Inv. 311 (Chr. d'Ég. 1967, pp. 360 seqq.) seems to bear on the question, but the editor's restorations and inferences cannot stand (see now N. Lewis, Chr. d'Ég. 1968 pp. 375 seqq.).

[τοῖς] ἀγορανόμοις Δίδυμος ζωτάδου ύπηρέτης [ἀπή]ν[γει]λα ύμιν ςυντεταχέναι τὸν τοῦ [νομ(οῦ)] στρατηγον Απολλώνιον ἀπο-[δοῦ]ναι Ποτάμωνι τῷ καὶ Μαξίμω [Ε]ὐ-5 [δαίμο]νος τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος ἀπ' 'Οξυ-[ρύγχων] πόλεως ην έθετο δι' ύμων [τῷ] ἐνεςτῶτι μῆνι Φαρμοῦθι [[διαθ]ήκην, τ[ο]ῦ 'το' ἀξιώςαντος τοῦ Πο-[τάμω] νος, ην καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ ἀνέ-10 [λα]βε. (ἔτους) ιθ Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίτα(ρος) N] ϵ [ρ]ουα Τραϊανοῦ Άρίττου $[C\epsilon]\beta[acτο]\hat{v}$ $\Gamma\epsilon\rho\mu$ ανικο \hat{v} Δακικο \hat{v} Παρθικοῦ Φαρμοῦθι τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι. (2nd hand) Ποτάμων ὁ καὶ Μά-15 ξιμος Εὐδαίμο[νο]ς τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος ἀνέλαβον τὴν προκειμέγην διαθήκην.

'To the agoranomoi from Didymus son of Sotades, assistant. I hereby inform you that the strategus of the nome, Apollonius, has instructed me to give back to Potamon also called Maximus son of Eudaemon son of Eudaemon, of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, the will which he made through you in the current month Pharmouthi . . ., in compliance with Potamon's request, and he received it back through me. The 19th year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus, Pharmouthi the 24th. (second hand) I Potamon, also called Maximus son of Eudaemon son of Eudaemon, have received my aforesaid will.'

3 Cf. 106 6.

cυντεταχέναι in 106 6, but έντεταχέναι in 601 = P. Preis. 32, 3, A.D. 116.

cυντεταχέναι τὸν τοῦ νομοῦ cτρατηγόν . . .: It is understood that an application had already been made to the strategus to revoke the will (cf. P. Mert. 75, introd.), or at least a notification was sent to him as the head of the administration of the nome.

2760. PETITION TO A PREFECT

12.5 × 21 cm.

c. a.d. 179/80

This petitioner left Oxyrhynchus to deliver blankets for the use of the soldiers of the Egyptian legion, *II Traiana Fortis*. At his destination, from which the petition was written, he had been detained more than forty days and his consignment had not yet been accepted. On the grounds that he and his companions were running short of

supplies and that the sowing season was at hand, he asked for the business to be settled so that he could go home.

The place of writing was probably Alexandria, which was the principal military base in Egypt (Lesquier, L'Armée, p. 378). Since the petitioner was an ex-cavalryman and wanted to be back in the Oxyrhynchite nome for the sowing season he is unlikely to have been a weaver. He may have been a $\iota \mu \alpha \tau \iota \epsilon \mu \pi \sigma \rho \sigma \sigma$ as well as having interests in the land, but it is more likely that he was performing a liturgy, say as a $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda \eta \mu \pi \tau \dot{\eta} c \delta \eta \mu \sigma c \iota \sigma \sigma$ (cf. P. Ryl. 189 I seq.).

The papyrus tantalizingly casts some doubt on the *nomen* of the prefect Sanctus, which has been through so many vicissitudes and was thought to have been settled by a recently published inscription; see I n.

Τίτωι Τα [] . Κάγκτωι ἐπάρχω Αἰγύπτου παρά Διον[υ] ςίου Άμυντιανοῦ ἀπολυθέντος έξ ίπ[πέ]ων εἴλης Απριανης. έξ ένκελεύςεως Πακτουμηΐου Μάγνου τοῦ ήγεμονεύς αντος καὶ τοῦ κρατίς του ςτρα-5 τοπεδάρχου Κομινίου Άττικ[ο] θ παρεκόμιςα ἐνθάδε ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Οξ[υρ]υγχίτου νομοῦ `ἐκ διᾳπομπῆς τοῦ ετρατηγοῦ΄ εἰ[ε] χρείας λεγεῶνος δευτέρας Τραϊανής "Ιςχυρᾶς λώδικας ἀριθμῶ έπτακ[ο]ςία[ς] έβδομήκοντα πέντε. 10 έ π εὶ οὖν ήδη τεςςαράκοντα ήμέρας καὶ πρὸ[ς] ἐνθάδε παρακατεςχέθην καὶ οὐδέπω ή παράλημψις αὐτῶν ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ λειφθῆναί με καὶ τοὺς ςὺν ἐμοὶ ταῖς τροφαῖς, ἀξιῶ 15 ce, ἐάν coυ τῆ τύχη δόξη, κελεῦcai όταν δοκϊμάςης παραλαβείν ταύ-[τα]ς πρὸς τὸ δύναςθαι κάμέ, τοῦ

20 εἰς [τ]ὴν ἰ[δ]ἰαν ἀποχωρῆςαι ἵν' ὧ εὐερ[γ]ετημένος. διευτύχι. Διονύςιος Άμυντι]αν[ὸ]ς ἐπιδέδωκ[α.]

καιρού της καταςποράς ένςτάντος,

'To Titus Ta... Sanctus, prefect of Egypt, from Dionysius Amyntianus, discharged from the cavalrymen of the ala Apriana.

'In compliance with the orders of Pactumeius Magnus, ex-prefect, and his Excellency the praefectus castrorum, Cominius Atticus, I transported here from the Oxyrhynchite nome for the uses of the legio

II Traiana Fortis blankets to the number of 775 sent by the strategus. Therefore, since I have been detained here already forty days and more and the transfer of the blankets has not yet taken place, so that I and those with me are short of the means of subsistence, I beg you, if it please your genius, to give orders, when you think fit, to take delivery of the blankets, so that I too, now that the time for sowing is at hand, may return to my home, in order that I may receive relief. Farewell. I, Dionysius Amyntianus, submitted the petition.'

I Ta [.]. Before the gap the traces consist of a dot from the foot of a letter and at a level well above the line a horizontal with short uprights apparently rising from either end and leaning inwards slightly. The papyrus is broken away along the under side of the horizontal. After the gap there is

a mere dot from the top of a letter.

The publication of an inscription from Rome by L. Moretti gave this prefect's name as T·AIO-SANCTO (Riv. Fil. 88 (1960), pp. 68 seqq. = AE 1961, No. 280). Here the nomen begins Ta and is complicated by the remains above the damaged third letter. Thanks to a series of splendid photographs of the Roman inscription made and given to me by Mr. Martin Frederiksen of Worcester College, Oxford, I know that there can be no doubt of the letters of Sanctus' name there or any possibility that the first line of the inscription was preceded by something more. There is, however, some doubt whether there ever was any dot between the first T and the following A and there is no appreciable extra space between them as there is before SANCTO. One possibility therefore is that the nomen was one hitherto unknown, Taius, given on the stone without a praenomen and that we should read $Tat[\omega]$ here. After much consideration and hesitation I am inclined to think that this is correct and that the remains above the line consist of the top of iota—the second upright—and part of an elaborated or a botched diaeresis, even though it does not look like the other diaereses in the document. The last letter of $\epsilon map \chi \omega$ is also extremely oddly written. It is far too small for the normal omega, but it is difficult to decide whether it is the small circle used as an abbreviation sign or an omega badly made.

In the only other papyrus certainly naming this prefect the *nomen* is lost except for the final *omega* (635). His name is restored in P. Lond. 384 4 = Ch. L.A. iii 201 = Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito*, No. 106, but the date of that document is disputed, see JRS lvi (1966), p. 255.

An official called Sanctus has appeared also in P. Zill. 3 (Tafel III). His nomen was published as $[M_i]_{\nu l \kappa \iota o c}$, with a reference to the procurator metallorum of the same name in ILS 8718 (A.D. 132). Moretti claimed this document for our prefect without giving a revised reading. Pflaum (Les Carrières, pp. 1002-7) maintained that the traces should be read $M_i \nu \ell [\kappa] \iota o c$ and referred to the procurator of D. 8718. Dr. W. Müller kindly supplied me with a new photograph of the document but I find myself still unable to read it with any confidence. On the one hand there are remains which strongly suggest the nu which fits Minicius and no version of our man's name; on the other there seems to be a diaeresis on the iota before the ending -oc, which hardly suits Minicius.

2 Διονυςίου Άμυντιανοῦ. Cf. **1534** 13, where the names are reversed and indexed as Άμυντιανός, s. of Dionysius.

3 Άπριανη̂ς. See Lesquier, L'Armée, p. 73.

5 cτρατοπεδάρχου. For the praefectus castrorum Aegypti see Domaszewski, Rangordnung², pp. 120-2, xxxii-xxxiv.

6 Κομινίου Άττικ[ο] v. He is new and may or may not be related to L. Cominius Maximus, praefectus leg. II Troianae [sic] Fortis, who is roughly contemporary, cf. Pflaum, Les Carrières, pp. 513–14 (No. 189).

9 Tpaïavậc "Icxupâc. See Lesquier, L'Armée, pp. 64-71.

19 καιροῦ τῆς καταςπορᾶς. According to Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 139-40, seed corn was

issued at Oxyrhynchus from Mesore—say August—to Choiak—say December.

21 The 'signature' is in the same hand as the body of the text. There seems to be no official subscription, though there might be room for a very short one in the damaged left half of the bottom margin. These things suggest that the document was a copy, perhaps a mere draft in view of the supralinear addition in line 8.

2761. DECLARATION OF DEATH

 8.7×10.6 cm.

A.D. 161-79

A notification to the scribe of the city from a woman that her brother, a hair-dresser, is dead. The woman gives her father a Roman name, but it is not certain that he is to be regarded as a Roman citizen (2 n.).

'Ρεμμίω Άγαθάρχ[ω] γρα(μματεῖ) πό λ'(εως) παρ[ὰ]ης της Μ[ά]ρκου τοῦ Μάρκου μητρὸς Καλλ[ι]όπης ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου τ[οῦ] είοῦ Π[εκ]ύςιος Χάρμου τοῦ Πεκύςιος 5 άδε[λ]φὸς Άς...ς κτεν[ιςτης ά]ναγραφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμ[φ]όδου Λυκίων Παρεμβο- $\lambda \hat{\eta}[c] \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \tau \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} [\lambda] \epsilon \acute{v} \tau [\eta] c \epsilon v \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \tau \iota \pi \acute{a} [c]] \lambda' a \iota. \delta \iota \grave{o} \stackrel{\epsilon}{a} \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \iota \hat{\omega}$ ἀνα[γ]ραφηναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῆ [τ]ῶν ὁμοίων τάξει ώς καθήκει κα[ί] ομνύω 10 την των κυρίων Αὐτ[ο]κρατόρων Άντωνίνο[υ] καὶ Οὐήρου τύχην $\mu\dot{\eta} \langle \dot{\epsilon} \rangle \psi \epsilon \hat{v} c \theta [\alpha \iota. (\ddot{\epsilon} \tau \sigma v c)] A \dot{v} \tau \sigma [\kappa] \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \sigma \rho \sigma c$ Καίςαρ[ος Μάρκ]ου [Αὐρηλίο]υ [Άντω-] νίνου

'To Remmius Agatharchus scribe of the city from . . . daughter of Marcus son of Marcus her mother being Calliope from the city of the Oxyrhynchi having as guardian her son Pekysis son of Charmos son of Pekysis from the same city. My full brother As. . . s, hairdresser, registered in the square of the camp of the Lycians died just recently. Wherefore, I request that his name be inserted (in the list of those) in the same category according to what is fitting, and I swear by the fortune of the Emperors Antoninus and Verus the lords that I speak the truth. (Year . . .) of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus'

Ι ' $P\epsilon\mu\mu$ ίω Αγαθάρχ[ω] γρα $(\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\hat{\iota})$ πό λ $(\epsilon\omega\epsilon)$: ' $P\epsilon\mu\mu\iota$ ος is not attested in documentary papyri before. The name may be for ' $Pa\mu\mu\iota$ ος (cf. 1023 6, 1547 4).

2 The name of the father of the lady is a Roman one. He is also the father of the deceased person since the lady describes him as δμογνήτιος ἀδελφός. The notification of death to the local authorities and the fact that he is κτενιςτής throws doubt on the probability that the deceased is a Roman citizen. Cf. καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἡρακλείας τέκνα Cαβείνον Cαβείνον τοῦ Κρονίωνος λαογρα(φούμενον) κτενιςτ(ήν) in P. Tebt. 322, 22, A.D. 189, where the λαογραφούμενος has a Roman name but is surely not a Roman citizen.

In **2761** there are two possibilities: either the father is Roman by nationality and then the sons are of mixed marriage (cf. P. Lond. iii 1164, p. 161, 4 seqq., A.D. 212; P. Tebt. 385, A.D. ii; Gnomon §§ 52 seqq.); or the father is not a Roman citizen and the Roman name does not necessarily mean Roman nationality—as in the case of $\Gamma aioc$ 'Ioioluoc Δioluoc Δioluoc Δioluoc Δioluoc (P. Mich. 223, 430–1, A.D. 171–2), who pay the $\lambda aogpa\phiia$ (cf. Iza-Biezunska-Malowist, Proceed. of the IXth Intern.

Congr. of Papyrology, p. 278). O. Montevecchi, Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere, lxxxiv (1951), pp. 279–88, finds that a double or triple Roman name does not prove that the person is Roman.

The lady is not Roman since her guardian is not Roman, nor does he enjoy any special position such as citizenship of Antinoe (cf. Boak, JEA xviii 69 on P. Mich. inv. 2922, A.D. 172–3). Therefore, she and her son and her husband and the deceased brother are not Romans and are subject to the $\lambda ao\gamma\rho a\phi i\alpha$.

2762. Census Return

9×10 cm.

A.D. 188/9

Another related document, P. Princ. 129, is part of a τόμος ευγκολλήειμος of returns for the census of the same year. The published second column refers to Tineius Demetrius only, but the fragmentary first column was said to have the name Aurelius at this point. The editor referred it to Dionysius, but **2762** and P. Harris 71, as revised above, seemed to make it virtually certain that Verianus was meant. Inspecting the original I found that the text of i 3–10 ran: $\kappa \alpha \tau$ \(\delta \tilde \kappa \kappa \eta \kappa \kappa \left\ \frac{\pi}{\tilde \pi \sigma} \frac{\pi \pi \chi \delta \left\ \frac{\pi}{\pi \pi \chi \delta} \frac{\pi \pi \chi \delta \chi \left\ \pi \right\ \frac{\pi \pi \chi \delta \chi \right\ \pi \right\ \frac{\pi \pi \chi \delta \chi \right\ \pi \right\ \frac{\pi \pi \chi \delta \chi \right\ \pi \right\ \frac{\pi \pi \pi \chi \delta \chi \right\ \pi \right\ \pi \right\ \frac{\pi \pi \pi \chi \delta \chi \right\ \pi \right\ \pi \right\ \pi \right\ \pi \right\ \frac{\pi \pi \pi \right\ \pi \rig

Returns for this census referring to Aurelius Verianus only are PSI 1227 and 1110, where the published text (6 seq.) $\mathring{v}\pi\mathring{o}$ $A\mathring{v}\rho\eta\lambda[\acute{l}ov\ \Pi a\pi\iota\rho\acute{l}ov]$ | $[\Delta\iota ovvc\acute{l}ov\ \tau o\hat{v}$ $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{l}c]\tau ov$ has been corrected to $\mathring{v}\pi\mathring{o}$ $A\mathring{v}\rho\eta\lambda[\acute{l}ov\ O\mathring{v}\eta\rho\iota\alpha vo\hat{v}]$ | $[\tau o\hat{v}\ \lambda a\mu\pi\rho o\tau\acute{a}]\tau ov$, see BL iii 134 and $Aegyptus\ xix\ (1939)$, p. 223.

This means that there is no mention of M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius in the papyri so far. It is also natural to assume that Demetrius was the direct successor of Verianus, though see BASP v, p. 106.

Another very similar document is now published as number 2800.

'Ηράμμωνι τῷ καὶ Κάςτορι ςτρ(ατηγῷ)

παρὰ Απολλωνίου Διοςκόρου τοῦ Απολλωνίου μητ(ρὸς) Μειθοῦτος ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως κατὰ τὰ κελευςθέντα ὑπὸ Τινηΐου Δημητρίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου 5 ήγεμόνος καὶ Αὐρηλίου Οὐηριανοῦ τοῦ ήγεμονεύς αντος ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διελθόντος κη (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Άντωνίνου Καίςαρος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογρ(αφὴν) τὴν ὑπάρχουςάν μοι κληρο-ΤO νομικώ δικαίω (πρότερον) της μετηλλαχυίης μου κατὰ μητ[έ]ρα μου μάμμης Άμμωνίας Άπ[\dots $\nu\epsilon\chi\theta\epsilon\nu\tau$ $[\mu \epsilon \nu \eta \tau o \iota]$ 15 $[\ldots]$ $[\gamma \rho \alpha \phi \eta \nu]$].ρανομ[.] . . . [

Ι $\epsilon \tau \rho f$ pap. 3 $\mu \eta^{\tau}$ pap. 7 $\alpha \pi o \gamma \rho f$ pap. 8 $\kappa \eta f$ pap. 10 $\alpha \pi o \gamma \rho f$ pap. 11 α' pap.

'To Herammon alias Castor, strategus, from Apollonius, son of Dioscorus, grandson of Apollonius, whose mother is Meithous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. According to the instructions given by Tineius Demetrius, the most glorious prefect, and Aurelius Verianus, the ex-prefect, I register for the house by house census of the past 28th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the (house) belonging to me by right of inheritance, formerly belonging to my deceased maternal grandmother Ammonia, daughter of Ap....'

I The strategus is new.

 $8 \kappa \eta (\tilde{\epsilon} \tau o \nu \epsilon) = \text{A.D. } 187/8$. The date of the return is therefore A.D. 188/9.

2763. Deed of Surety for Phylarch

16.6×8 cm.

A.D. 253/4

Aurelius Theon and Aurelius Thonis, who are perhaps the heads of quarters of the city (cf. Wegener, 'Notes on the $\phi v\lambda a l$ of the metropoleis', in Actes Oxford, pp. 512 seqq.), give to Aurelius Posidonius the strategus of Oxyrhynchus a sworn declaration that they guarantee the person whom they introduced to carry out the liturgy as phylarch.

Aurelius Heras (ll. 12-13) may be the same person as Aurelius Heras, 'phylarch of the coming fourth year', in 1119 2 (the date has been reinterpreted by P. Mertens,

Les Services de l'état civil, p. 27, as August A.D. 253). The 'coming fourth year' of the Galli and the first year of Valerian and Gallienus are different descriptions for the period 253/4. But if the Heras of these documents is identical the present appointment of Heras is not in response to the notification (1187) of the strategus Posidonius to members of the amphoda to choose a phylarch, which is dated 20 June, A.D. 254. On the phylarchy see Mertens, l.c., pp. 16 seqq., P. Parsons, JRS lvii (1967), pp. 135-6; 2664 13 n.; and 2764 8-10.

On these guarantees see F. la Roas, 'L'èγγυητής della Παράςταςις', JJP xiii (1961), pp. 67 seqq.

Αὐρηλίω Ποςιδωνίζω ςτρ(ατηγῶ) 'Οξυρυγχείτου Αὐρήλιοι Θέων ὁ καὶ Άμμώνιος Εὐδαίμονος μητρός Άπολλωνίας καὶ Θῶνις Θώνιος μητρὸς 5 Διογενίδος αμφότεροι απ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως. ομνύομεν τὴν `τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν΄ Πουπλ[ίω]ν Λικιννίου `Οὐαλεριαν[οῦ]΄ καὶ Γαλλιην[οῦ] [[καιςάρων]] `ζεβαςτῶν Εψςεβῶν [[Εψτυχῶν(?)]] 'τψχην' ἐκουςίως10 καὶ αὐθαιρέτ[ω]ς ἐγγυᾶςθαι Αὐρήλιον Ἡρᾶν Διογένους φύλαρχον δυ καὶ παρα*cτή* coμεν δπόταν ἐπιζητηθη η ένοχοι είημεν Ι5 τῷ ὄρκῳ.

> (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκρατόρων καιςάρων Πουπλίου Λικιννίου.

'To Aurelius Posidonius strategus of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Theon alias Ammonius, son of Eudaemon his mother being Apollonia, and Aurelius Thonis, son of Thonis his mother being Diogenis, both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. We swear by the fortune of our lords Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Gallienus Caesars Maximi Pii Felices to guarantee, of our own free will and choice, Aurelius Heras son of Diogenes as phylarch, whom we will also produce when he is asked for, otherwise we are to be liable to the consequences of the oath. The first year of the Emperors Caesars Publius Licinius.'

1 Αὐρήλιος Ποςιδώνιος is known as strategus in 1187 1, A.D. 254.
7–10 This part is damaged and not easy to read. The scribe seems to be unfamiliar with the formula of the oath and inserts the missing parts between the lines. The fact that this is the first year of a new reign may account for his unfamiliarity.

8 $\Pi ov_{\pi} \lambda [i\omega] \nu$: the restoration of the word in this form has no evidence to attest it. The beginning and the end of the word are certain.

9 The parts inserted are not clear. The reading suggested depends on W.O. 1473, 2, A.D. 254-5. 10-11 The letters are badly scratched besides the damage. In restoring this part I have used 1554, 1555, and P. Preis. 13-17.

12 Αὐρήλιος Ἡρᾶς Διογένους: he may be Aurelius Heras of 1119 2, cf. introd.

14 The letters are not quite clear in the second half of the line. $\delta \pi \delta \tau \langle \epsilon \rangle \dot{a} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \zeta \eta \tau \eta \theta \hat{g}$ may be read, cf. JJP xiii (1961), p. 71.

17-18 The same date, if the reading is right, with another formula is in 1187 21-8.

2764. OATH OF A CLERK IN THE BUREAU OF A STRATEGUS

Copy C 6.1×29.1 cm.

19 July A.D. 277

The text of this papyrus exists in three copies which differ in handwriting, spelling, and preservation. The text given below follows the best written copy (C) and reference is given to the others (A and B) only if they present different readings. Copies A and B are complete except for some holes, copy C is broken at the top and starts with the letters -cioc in l. 5. Copy A contains an official entry at the beginning which might also have been in the missing part of copy C. A comparison of the subscriptions shows that copy B was written by Aurelius Pekysis himself. Only the signature of his surety was added by a scribe, Aurelius Sarapion. Copy C was made by a professional scribe, to which the signatures were contributed by Aurelius Pekysis for himself and by Aurelius Sarapion for the surety. Copy A was written by four or five hands, l. 1 or ll. 1–3 by one hand or two, by which also l. 13 of copy A (Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Πρόβου) and the date (ἔτους β-Ἐπεὶφ κε) were written. These lines seem to have been added to the previously written text. The signatures of copy A are done in the same way as in the other copies, Pekysis wrote for himself and Sarapion wrote for the surety.

The text of the papyrus follows the usual pattern for the oath which everybody had to take when he entered upon a duty. Cf., e.g., 1197 (A.D. 211), 1196 (211/12), 1553 (214), 2120 (221), 972 (223), 1455 (275), 82 (A.D. iii), and 2765 (304). The office involved is similar to that of 82, which cannot any longer be regarded as the oath of a future strategus, and of 2765. Cf. the commentary on l. 11 for this matter. Lines 1-5 up to $\Pi \epsilon \kappa \nu$ - are taken from copy A.

ύ(π) cτρ(ατηγίας) τοῦ ἰτιόν(τος) γ (ἔτους)
Α[ι]ρηλίω Ἡρακλείω
τῶ κ]αὶ Ἑρμία ττρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου).
Αὐρήλιος Πεκῦτις Ἀπίω5 ν[ο]ς τοῦ Πεκύτιος μητρὸς Θα[μουίδος
ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λ[αμπρο-

τάτης 'Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως ἀναδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως φυλάρ-

10 χου τοῦ ἰςιόντος γ (ἔτους) εἰς
ὑπηρεςίαν τῆς ςτρατηγίας
ὀμνύω τὴν τοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Πρόβου Καίςαρος Cεβαςτοῦ

15 τύχην ἀντιλήμψεςθαι
της δηλουμένης ΰπηρεςίας καὶ ἐκτελέςειν ταύτην
ἐνφανης ὢν ΰγιῶς
καὶ πιςτῶς καὶ προςκαρτε-

20 ρῶν τῆ cτρατηγία ἀδιαλείπτως εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχος εἴην τῷ ὅρκῳ. παρέςχον δὲ [ἐ]μ[α]υ[το]ῦ [ἐ]γγυη[τὴν Αὐρή-

30 Καίςαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Πρόβου Εὐτεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Cεβαςτοῦ Ἐπεὶφ κε.

35

(2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Πεκῦςις ἄμοςα τὸν ὅρκον καὶ ἐκτελέςω τὴν χρείαν ὡς πρόκειται.

(3rd hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Cαραπάμων [ὀμόςας τὸν ὅρκον ἐγγυῶμ[αι τὸν Πεκῦςιν ὡς π(ρόκειται). Αὐ[ρ(ήλιος)

ΙΙ Α: ὑπηρεςίαν τῆς εἰς στρατηγίας 5 Α: Θαμονίδος 10 l. εἰςιόντος Ι Ι. εἰςιόντος 17 A: -λέ*cει*, B: -λέ*cιν* 18 l. *ἐμ*-16 B om. $\tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon$ 12 Α : ὅμνυμεν Β: ὑπηρεςίαν ςτρατηγίας 20 A: τη̂ς cτρ(), B: τη̂ς cτρατηγίας 21 A: -λιπ- A, B om. έν 22 Β: -γαι φανής, Α, Β: ἐμ-30 Α, Β: Μάρκου Β: Πρόβου Αὐρηλίου 26 Β : Πολέμμωνος 24 Α: ένγ- $A: \ddot{\eta}, B: \epsilon \iota$ 37 l. Cαραπάμμων, A: -αμων, B: del. 32 A, B: $\overline{\kappa \epsilon}$

'Concerning . . . of the coming 3rd year. To Aurelius Heracleius also called Hermias, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I, Aurelius Pekysis, son of Apion, grandson of Pekysis, my mother being Thamouis from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchi, having been nominated by the phylarch of the same city of the coming 3rd year for service in the bureau of a strategus, swear by the fortune of our lord Marcus Aurelius Probus Caesar Augustus, that I shall take up the appointed duty and that I shall fulfil it, in person, honourably and faithfully and attending the bureau of the strategus continuously, that there may not be any complaint against me or else may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. I present as my surety Aurelius Sarapammon, son of Polemon and of Heracleia, from the same city, who is present and consenting. In the 2nd year of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Probus Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph 25. I, Aurelius Pekysis, have sworn the oath and I shall fulfil the duty as said above. I, Aurelius Sarapammon, have sworn the oath, I give surety for Pekysis as said above. I, Aurelius Sarapion, wrote for him because he is illiterate.'

I The abbreviations $v(\cdot)$ and $\sigma\tau\rho(\cdot)$ can be resolved in two ways, either $\dot{v}(n\dot{\epsilon}\rho)$ $\sigma\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\dot{\iota}a\epsilon)=$ concerning the bureau of a strategus, or in regard to l. II $\dot{v}(\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\sigma\dot{\iota}a)$ $\sigma\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\dot{\iota}a\epsilon)=$ concerning service in the bureau of a strategus. Cf. commentary to l. II on the duty involved.

The forthcoming third year is 277/8.

2 This strategus is new.

4 Aurelius Pekysis is not otherwise known. The mother's name is only in A; for ν , ν might be read.

9 Cf. 2763 introd. on the phylarch.

II The office involved presents some difficulties. It is referred to also in l. 16 ή δηλουμένη ὑπηρεςία, and l. 20 προςκαρτερῶν τῆ στρατηγία. The phrase of l. 20 is identical with one of 82 (A.D. iii). Προςκαρτερῶν is nowhere else used in connection with any office as far as I have been able to ascertain. Thus the phrase προςκαρτερῶν τῆ στρατηγία or rather the use of προςκαρτερῶν as remaining in or at an office was not very common and one may conclude that 82 and 2764 dealt with the same matter. 82 is preserved as a fragment only, but the remaining part clearly shows that it formed the bottom part of the oath sworn on taking over a duty. Indeed not only in regard to προςκαρτερῶν τῆ στρατηγία is 2764 identical with 82, but all extant phrases of 82 which are typical for such an oath agree with the corresponding lines of 2764.

Owing to the phrase $\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\tau\hat{\eta}$ $\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma i\alpha$ 82 has been regarded as the oath of a strategus and this classification has led several times to discussions as to whether the office of a strategus was still an $\hat{a}\rho\chi\hat{\eta}$ or already a $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\sigma\nu\rho\gamma i\alpha$ or a similar post in the later Roman period. If one applies these theories on 82 to 2764, one has to conclude that Aurelius Pekysis was nominated as a strategus for 277/8, and this would necessitate several conclusions on the (leiturgic) character of the office of

a strategus.

But there are two objections to such an assumption which will later have some relevance to the interpretation of 82 also. According to the list of strategi (cf. above) a strategus named Aurelius Harpocration was in office in the same year for which Aurelius Pekysis was nominated and took the oath. Harpocration is mentioned for Pharmouthi. Therefore one may conclude that Pekysis died before Pharmouthi 278 and that for some obscure reason his surety did not take over the duty and that Harpocration was therefore installed as a strategus during the year 277/8. But this rather difficult conclusion should be accepted only if there is no other explanation. The second objection is to be found in the lines of 2764 in which Pekysis' office is mentioned (11 and 16). It is called a $i\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\epsilon ia$ $i\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\epsilon ia$ $i\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\epsilon ia$. This classification shows that Pekysis was nominated for any job in the bureau of a strategus, $i\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\epsilon ia$ not standing for the strategus' job but for his bureau. Cf., besides Preis., $i\pi\theta$ iii $i\pi\theta$ s.v. $i\pi\theta$ iii $i\pi\theta$ on this use of $i\pi\theta$ also P. Cair. Isid. 66, 10 and 67, 13 (both 299);

2228 13 (? 283), and P. Panop. 1, 99 (298), of which the last two mention a ὑπηρέτης τῆς στρατηγίας (P. Oxy.) or someone ὑπηρετήςας τὴν στρατηγίαν (P. Panop.); see also P. Leit. 5, 38 (c. 180), where a ὑπηρέτης is regarded as ὑπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, and 2764. It remains uncertain whether Pekysis was to become ὑπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, messenger of the strategus, which is the usual term for an assistant at that time, or whether he only had to become one of the many clerks working in the bureau of a strategus. Cf. H. Kupiszewski, J. Modrzejewski, 'ΥΠΗΡΕΤΑΓ', JJP xi-xii (1957/8), pp. 141-66 (a detailed discussion of ὑπηρεταί of every kind in Greek and Roman Egypt), who point out (p. 144) that the great majority of the references to a ὑπηρέτης of the Roman period refer to the ὑπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. This one as well as any other worker in the bureau of a strategus was installed according to the usual procedure of liturgists and was liable to the oath, in which he had to swear that he would fulfil his duty, i.e. here προσκαρτερῶν τῆ στρατηγία. This brings us back to 82, which according to the above statements could not have been the oath of a future strategus, but should be regarded as the oath of any clerk in the bureau of a strategus. He was responsible for the delivery of messages concerning nominations to duties and was probably identical with the ὑπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ who was usually responsible for the delivery of messages.

24 Aurelius Sarapammon is not otherwise known.

29 The year is 276/7.

2765. OATH ON UNDERTAKING SERVICE

 10.7×19.5 cm.

19 December, A.D. 304

Two fragments which together form the bottom part of an oath. The lost upper part of the oath recorded the office, for which Aurelius Sarapiacus took the oath. The duty concerned was probably (2 n.) similar to that which occurs in 82 (A.D. iii) and 2764 (A.D. 277).

1...[

ύπ]ηρεςίαν (τοῦ) ςτρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἐν[εστῶτος κ (ἔτους) καὶ ἐννεακαι(δεκάτου) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) ὀμνύω τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Cεβαςτ(ῶν) καὶ Κωνςταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεςτάτων Καιςάρων τύχην ἀντιλήμψεςθαι τῆς δηλουμένης ὑπηρεςίας καὶ ἐκτελέςιν ταύτην ἐνφανὴς ὢν ὑπακούων τοῦς ἐπιταςςομένοις μοι ἀδιαλήπ[τω]ς εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆνα[ι] ἢ ἔν[ο]χο[ς εἴη]ν τῷ θε[ί]ω [ὅ]ρκω. πα[ρέςχον δὲ

5

10

15

[ἐμαυτοῦ ἐγγυητὴν Αὐρ(ήλιον) ἄδραςτον ἀπὸ] τῆς αὐτῆ[ς πόλεως πα]ρόντα καὶ εὐ[δοκοῦντα.

(ἔτους) κ καὶ (ἔτους) ἐννεακαι(δεκάτου) τῷν κυρίων [ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιαν[οῦ] ζεβαςτῶν καὶ (ἔτους) ιβ΄ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνεταντίου καὶ

Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεςτάτων Καιςάρων 20 Xοιὰκ κ γ .

> (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος ζαραπιακὸς ὤμοςα τὸν ὅρκον. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Άδραςτος ἐνγυ(ῶμαι) αὐτ[ὸν] ὡς πρόκ(ειται). είδ(ότων) γρ(άμματα).

2, 17 εννεακαιι

9 Ι. ἐκτελέςειν

11 l. ἀδιαλείπτως

- "... the 20th and the 19th and the 12th year. I swear on the fortune of our lords the emperors Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, that I shall hold the appointed duty and that I shall fulfil it in person, obedient to the orders given to me, continuously, that there may not be any complaint against me, or else may I be liable to the consequences of the divine oath. I presented as my surety Aurelius Adrastus of the same city who is present and consenting. In the 20th and 19th year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and in the 12th year of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, Choiak 23. I, Aurelius Sarapiacus, have sworn the oath. I, Aurelius Adrastus, give surety for him as aforesaid. I, Aurelius, wrote for them because they are illiterate.'
- $2 \ \dot{v}\pi]\eta \rho \epsilon \zeta \dot{u}\gamma$ is read on the basis of the similarity of the traces to those in l. 9. If $\epsilon \tau \rho \alpha \tau \eta \gamma o \hat{v}$ is rightly read, Aurelius Sarapiacus is to be ὑπηρέτης τοῦ ετρατηγοῦ, like Pekysis in 2764. It is not clear whether we should write $\psi \pi]\eta \rho \epsilon \epsilon lav \langle \tau o \hat{v} \rangle$ $\epsilon \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o \hat{v}$ in 2, supposing a scribal error, or not. If we write this, we make Sarapiacus assistant to the strategus actually in office; without the article he may be supposed simply to be undertaking in the current year the duty of assistant to the strategus. Normally in these undertakings the obligation is for the coming, not the present, year. As a strategus was usually in office for 3 years Sarapiacus might have become ὑπηρέτης for the second or third year of the strategus who was in office in 304/5.

The beginning of this document might have run: . . . cτρατηγώ τοῦ 'Οξυρυγχίτου. ἀναδοθεὶς ὑπὸ

 \ldots εἰς $|^2$ ὑπηρεςίαν $\langle \tau$ οῦ \rangle ςτρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἐνεςτῶτος $|^3$ κ (ἔτους) \ldots

3 The regnal years are abbreviated in an uncommon way (cf. plate). Of the compound number 19 only the beginning 'nine' is written in letters, followed by the common shortened form of καί and by the sigle for ten. The same way of writing the number 19 occurs in l. 17. Cf. 2766 11 n.

13 seq. Cf. parallel oaths given in 2764 introd. on the general wording of an oath and l. 23 of this

papyrus for the surety's name, both of which made the restoration of the missing portion possible.

2766. DECLARATION BY EPIMELETES

17.5×15.5 cm.

A.D. 305

Aurelius Tryphon who was appointed as epimeletes for the ἀνακομιδή of the annona militaris (cf. P. Preis. 13–14, 16–17, all A.D. iv; Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 215) gives to the strategus Aurelius Horion a sworn declaration that he received from the granaries the wheat and the barley to transport to the Small Oasis. A similar declaration is **1261**, of A.D. 325.

έπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρί[ων] ἡμῶν Κωνεταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεετάτων καιεάρων τὸ ε. Αὐρηλίω ' Ωρίωνι ετρατηγῷ ' Οξυρυγχείτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Τρύφωνος Θωνίου ἐξηγ(ητεύεαντος) βου(λευτοῦ) τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ

λαμπ(ροτάτης) 'Οξ(υρυγχειτῶν) πόλε-

ως ἐπιμελητοῦ ςιτοκρίθου ἀνακομιζομένου ἐπὶ τὴν Μικρὰν
 "Οαςιν, ὀμνύω τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανο[ῦ C]εβαςτῶν καὶ Κωνςταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεςτάτων καιςάρων τύχην παρειλη-φέναι παρὰ μὲν Αὐρηλίων Cαβίνου καὶ τῶν κοινωνῶν ἀποδε-

10 κτών καὶ ἐπισφραγιστών θησαυρών κώμης Κερκεύρων τῆς μέσης τοπ(αρχίας) τοῦ ᾿Οξ(υρυγχείτου) νομοῦ ἀπὸ γενήμα(τος) ἐννεακαιδεκάτου καὶ ιη (ἔτους) καὶ ι̞α (ἔτους) πυροῦ

καθαρωτάτου μέτρω δημοςίω ἀρτάβας τριακοςίας γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) τ, παρὰ

δὲ Αὐρηλίων Κιαρούριος καὶ Λούτεως καὶ τῶν κοινωνῶν ἀποδεκτῷν καὶ ἐπιςφραγιςτῶν θηςαυρῶν 'Οξ(υρυγχειτῶν) πόλεως ἀπὸ ἀμ(φόδου) Ψέως είτου γενήμα(τος) τοῦ διελθόντος κ (ἔτους) ⟨ιθ⟩ (ἔτους) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) κ[ρ]ιθῆς

καθαρωτάτης όμοίως μέτρω δημοςίω ἀρτάβας έκατὸν πεντήκοντα

[καὶ π]ᾳ[ρα]δωςω τοῖς ἐκεῖςαι ἀποδέκταις ἀριθμῷ πλήρη καὶ [τῆς παρ]ᾳδόςεως ἀποχὰ γράμμᾳ[τα ἐποίςε]με, εἰς τὸ [ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆ]ναμ ἢ ἔνοχος ε[ἴην τῷ θείῳ ὅρκῳ

].[....].[

18 1. ἐκεῖςε

15

'In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximian, most renowned Caesars, for the fifth time. To Aurelius Horion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Tryphon son of

Thonius, ex-exegetes, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites and superintendent of the wheat and barley under transport to the Small Oasis. I swear by the fortune of our lords the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Galerius, most renowned Caesars, that I have received from, on one hand, Aurelius Sabinus and his partners, receivers and sealers of the granaries of the village of Kerkeura of the middle toparchy of the Oxyrliynchite nome, three hundred artabae, which are 300, of the cleanest wheat and measured by the public measure, of the production of the 19th (year) and 18th (year) and 11th (year) and on the other hand, from Aurelius Kiarouris and Aurelius Louteus and his partners, receivers and sealers of the granaries of the city of the Oxyrhynchites from the quarter of Pses, 150 artabae of grain, which are 150 artabae, of the cleanest barley and measured by the public measure from the production of the past 20th, (19th), and 12th (year), which wheat and barley I shall transport to the Small Oasis and give to the receivers there complete in total and shall produce the receipts of delivery, without giving any cause for complaint, otherwise may I be liable to the penalties of the divine oath . . .

1-2 The same formula is in 859 1.

3 The strategus of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 305 was not previously known.

5 cιτόκριθον is not a mixture (cf. 1253 15 n., A.D. iv). Cf. R. Browning, 'Medieval and Modern Greek' 71.

ἀνακομιζομένου ἐπὶ τὴν Μικρὰν "Οαςιν: it seems that the requisitions were for the soldiers stationed

in the Small Oasis (cf. Lesquier *L'Armée rom.*, pp. 412 seq.; Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 315 seq.).

11 The date is given by the 19th year of the reign of Diocletian. The scribe wrote '19th year' in letters and the years ιη (ἔτους) καὶ ια (ἔτους) in figures (cf. Mich. Ostr. 503, 4; 504, 7). Cf. 2765 3 n.

15 The omission of $i\theta$ is probably a mere error.

18-20 This part may be restored from 1261 10-11; 1115 9; P. Thead. 28, 9 = P. Cair. Preis. 13, 12-13; 14, 13, all late A.D. iii-early iv.

2767. OATH CONCERNING CARE FOR TREES

 26.6×9 cm.

29 March, A.D. 323

Horigenes son of Cornelius, Kalamois the shoemaker, and the other μέτοχοι give a sworn declaration to Dioscourides the logistes that they will undertake to care for and irrigate the persea tree and the $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta o \lambda \dot{\eta}$ which were near their houses.

This document emphasizes that the Roman administration continued the Ptolemaic rules of planting and care of trees as shown in P. Tebt. iii 703, 191-211, late iii B.C. It is made quite clear that compulsion was applied (ll. 12-13) in planting trees in the city streets. Planting and care of trees were done by contractors both in the Ptolemaic (cf. Rostovtzeff, Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hell. World, pp. 298 seqq.) and in the Roman periods.

> τοῖς ἀποδιχθηςομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ. Διοςκουρίδη λογιςτη 'Οξυρυγχείτου παρὰ ' Ωριγένους Κορνηλίου καὶ Καλαμόϊτος ςκυτέως

5		καὶ τῶν μετόχων πάντων
		ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ὁμολο-
		γοῦμεν ὀμνύντες τὸν ςεβάςμιο(ν)
		θεῖον ὅρκον τῶν δεςποτῶν ἡμῶ(ν)
		άνεικήτων βα <i>ειλέων π</i> ᾶ <i>ε</i> αν
10		<i>ἐπιμέλιαν καὶ ὑπηρε</i> ςίαν
		καὶ τοὺς ςυνήθεις ποτιςμοὺς
		άδιαλίπτως ἐπάναγκες
		ποιήςαςθαι τῆς ἐκ μίζο-
		νος προςτάξεως νεωςθὶ
15		κατατεθείςης περςίας πρὸς
		τοῖς ἡμετέροις οἴκοις ἐπὶ τοῦ
		δρόμου Ψὲς πρὸς τὸ ζωογονεῖ(ν)
		κα]ὶ εὐθαλεῖν διὰ παντός, ἔτι τε
		καὶ τὴν τήρητιν καὶ παραφυλακὴ(ν)
20		$ au$ ης $\pi\epsilon$ ριβολης $ au$ ης ἀν $[a\delta ho]$ ομης (?)
		τῆς αὐτῆς περείας ποιή $[cac heta]$ ạ i
		εἰς τὸ μηδεμίαν μέμψιν ἐπα-
		κολουθήςιν ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῷ θείῳ
		δρκω. ὑπατεία τῆ προκ(ειμένη) Φαρμοῦθι $\bar{\gamma}$.
25	(2nd hand)	' Ωριγένης καὶ Καλαμόϊς ὢμάςα-
		μεν τὸν θῖον ὅρκον ὡς πρόκι-
		ται. ὁ αὐτὸς ΄ Ωριγένης ἔγραψα
		ύπὲρ τοῦ ἄλ⟨λ⟩ου μὴ εἰδότος γράμ-
		$\mu a \tau a$.
30	(3rd hand)	δρόμου Ψαίς νοτίνης
		$[\pi]$ λευρᾶς ἀπὸ οἰκ $(\)$. $[$
		[.] our our $\pi \rho \alpha \gamma$ () ϵ [
		$ [\dot{\eta}] \ \pi \epsilon ho (\epsilon i a) \ \dot{\theta'} $

1 l. ἀποδειχθητομένοις 9 l. ἀνικήτων 10 l. ἐπιμέλειαν 12 l. ἀδιαλείπτως 13 l. μείζονος 14 l. νεωττί 15 (21) l. περτέας 22, 23 l. ἐπακολουθήτειν 25 l. ἀμόταμεν 26 l. θεῖον, πρόκειται 30 l. Ψές

'In the time of the consuls to be designated for the third time. To Dioscourides logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Horigenes son of Cornelius, from Kalamois the shoemaker and their partners, all of this same city. We agree, swearing the august divine oath by our lords the unconquered kings, that we shall take every care of and do every service to and regularly irrigate the persea tree, which has been lately planted by order of higher authority in front of our houses on the Pses' road, for

it to propagate and to grow always. In addition we undertake to watch and safeguard the space around this same persea tree in a way that will allow no censure, otherwise may we incur the consequence of the divine oath. 3rd Pharmouthi of the aforesaid consulship. (2nd hand) We, Horigenes and Kalamois, have sworn the divine oath as stated above, and I the same Horigenes have written for the other because he is illiterate. (3rd hand) Pses' road on the south side from the property (?) of Horigenes, wine-... The persea tree, 9th.'

I On the significance of the dating see E. W. Kase, P. Princeton Roll 32 seqq., P. Cair. Isid. 78, P. Merton ii 92, 25, and 2771 I.

2 Διοςκουρίδης λογιςτής is the same as Οὐαλέριος Διοςκουρίδης in 42 and 900, A.D. 322, and in

1509 (undated).

17 δρόμου Ψές: the name Ψές was used for a quarter: ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ψὲς ὑπ[ὀ τ]ὴν νοτίν[η]ν δημοςίαν τοτόν 1966 12; but it was also used to indicate the name of a street, as in $\pi \rho$ (ὀc) τ $\hat{\eta}$ πύλη τοῦ Ψές 43

verso iv. 1; cf. H. Rink, Strassen und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus, p. 49.

ζωογονεῖν [κα]ὶ εὐθαλεῖν διὰ παντός: the verb ζωογονέω is also written ζωγονέω in the papyri (cf. 1188 21, 33 nn., A.D. 13). It means here 'to propagate', cf. Thphr. CP 3, 22, 3; id., HP 8, 11, 2. It is clear that the Roman administration cared for the multiplication of trees (cf. D.S. i 88; Plut. 2, 494 c). See on ζωογονέω, O. Montevecchi, 'Lingua Graeca nella Settanta e nei papiri', Actes du Xe Congr. Intern. de Papyr., p. 43. εὐθαλεῖν was suggested by Dr. John Shelton. An unpublished document of this kind addressed to the same logistes has the word at this point in the formula.

31–3 Additional texts of this kind being worked on by Dr. Shelton have helped in reaching the reading given. $ol\kappa()$ may be abbreviated for $ol\kappa(o\pi\epsilon\delta\omega\nu)$ or $ol\kappa(lac)$. A name is to be expected after it, then $olvo\pi\rho\acute{a}\tau(ov)$ is excluded because the last letter is not like τ . $[\pi]\lambda\epsilon\nu\rho\acute{a}c$ in 31 is not well attested in

a geographical sense.

VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

2768. SETTLEMENT BEFORE ARBITRATORS

25×11.8 cm.

Late third century

Settlement before arbitrators in which the parties are Harsiesis and Harsas sons of Petosiris on one side and Myronous also called Ptolema acting through her husband Theon on the other side. Myronous had presented her case before the archidicastes for the recovery of a property which previously belonged to Thompsemis. The nature of the property and the reason for the $\vec{a}\nu a\kappa o\mu \iota \delta \acute{\eta}$ are not clear. The text is a $\delta\iota \acute{a}\lambda\nu \iota\iota\iota c$ agreement, because it contains the formula $\kappa a \iota \iota \mu \mathring{\eta} \epsilon \nu \kappa a \lambda \epsilon \iota \nu \kappa \tau \lambda$. (J. Modrzjewski, JJP vi (1951), p. 252), such dialysis being the fourth stage in the dispute.

The question whether Aurelius Achilleus the archidicastes (10-11) is to be identi-

fied with the corrector of the same name cannot be discussed here.

μετοξύ Άρςιήςιος καὶ Άρςα άμφοτέρων Πετοςίριος καὶ Μυρωνοῦτος τῆς καὶ Πτολέμας διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Θέωνος, παρόντων Άπο[λ-] λωνίου 'Ιςχυρίωνος έξηγητεύςα ν τος ένάρχου πομπαγωγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ετεμμάτων 5 καὶ Φανίας ζαρᾶ ἐνάρχου ἀρχιερέως αμφοτέρων βουλευτών της 'Οξυρυγχε[ι-] τῶν πόλεως. ἐπὶ ἡ Μυρωνοῦς κατάςταcις πεποίηται πρός τοὺς περὶ τὸν Άρςιῆςιν καὶ Άρς αν ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου Άχιλλέως ἐνάρ-10 χου ἀρχιδικαςτοῦ περὶ ῆς [δ] ἔδωκεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς ἀνακομιδῆς ὑπαρχόντων τô τῶν περὶ τὸν Άρςιῆςιν καὶ Άρςαν άδελφό{ν} Θομψήμι{ν} ὄντι καὶ προ-15 κτήτορι, ένγραφείτης διαςτολής έν τη ἀνακομιδη (ς) περί τοῦ τὴν Μυρονο[ῦ]ν τελείαν γενομένην εὐδοκή ειν τῆ ἀνακομιδῆ, καὶ περὶ τούτων ζητής εως ούς ης παρά τω ἀρχιδικαςτῆ· ἔδο ξεν κοινῆ γνώμη 20 παρόντων των ένγεγραμμένων μεςειτών ύπερ τοῦ δίκας μη ἔχει ν΄

καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλάχθαι ὥςτε τὴν Μυρ[ω]νοῦν λαμβάνουcav παρά τῶν περὶ τὸν Αρ*ςι*ῆςιν 25 καὶ Άρς αν δι' αξς πεποίηται αναλώματα ἀργυρίου τ(άλαντον) α καὶ (δραχμὰς) Ε΄, εὐδοκῖν τῆ γενομένη εἰς τὸ⟨ν⟩ τῶν περί τὸν Αρςιῆςιν καὶ Αρςᾶν ἀδελφὸν Θομψημιν ζόντα καὶ προκτήτ[ορα] 30 [ἀνα]κομιδῆ{ν} καὶ μὴ ἐνκαλ[εῖν] [αὐτὴν] ἢ ἐφελεύ[c]εςθαι μήτε αὐτῶ μήτε τοῖς παρ' [α]ὐτοῦ ὀνηςαμένοις, πρός τὸ εἶναι τὴν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Άρςιῆςιν καὶ Άρςᾶν παρα-35 χώ{ }ρηςιν κυρίαν [] ...ιη [

1 l. μεταξύ (cf. Mayser, i 60 seq.) 6 Φανίας, l. Φανίου 8 l. ἐπεί, κατάσταςιν 12 l. τῷ 14 l. ἀδελφῷ, Θομψήμει (cf. Humbert, La Disparition du datif, pp. 163 seqq.) 18 l. εὐδοκής ειν 22 l. μεςιτῶν 23 l. ἀπηλλάχθαι 27 f $\bar{\epsilon}$ pap. 28 l. εὐδοκεῖν 32 l. ἐπελεύς εςθαι (cf. Mayser, i 173 seq.) 33 l. ἀνηςομένοις

'(Settlement) between Harsiesis and Harsas both sons of Petosiris on one side and Myronous also called Ptolema acting through her husband Theon on the other side, in the presence of Apollonius son of Ischyrion ex-exegetes organizer of ceremonies in office and in charge of the stemmata, and Phanias son of Saras archiereus in office, both senators of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. Whereas Myronous has made her appearance before Aurelius Achilles archidicastes in office against Harsiesis and Harsas and their party about the recovery of the properties which her father delivered to Thompsemis brother of Harsiesis and Harsas, who was the previous owner; since the provisions written in the recovery are that Myronous, when she becomes of age, should agree on the recovery; and since there was a judicial investigation before the archidicastes: it seemed good by common consent in the presence of the said arbitrators to avoid a lawsuit and to settle the matters in hand on condition that Myronous takes from the family of Harsiesis and Harsas, on account of the expenses which she had one talent and 5,000 drachmae of silver, and agrees on the recovery which was made to Thompsemis brother of Harsiesis and Harsas, the previous owner, and that she neither accuses nor will take proceedings against him or against the purchasers from him and that the cession to Harsiesis and Harsas and their family is valid...'

3-5 Apollonius son of Ischyrion is ἔναρχος πομπαγωγός. The exegetes is met acting as πομπαγωγός, in P. Brux. inv. E. 7910, 2, A.D. iii = SB 9161, P. Erlang, 31 = SB 9162, A.D. iii (cf. Bingen, Chr. d'Ég. lxi (1956), p. 111). P. Mertens (Les services de l'état civil, p. 152) restores PSI 457 (intr., and Jouguet, La vie municip., pp. 315 seqq.), A.D. 276, as $\langle \hat{\epsilon} \rangle \xi \eta \gamma ($) ἐνάρχ(ω) πομ(παγωγ ω) by analogy with P. Brux. inv. E. 7910, justifiable because of the close relation between the exegetes and the epicrisis. In the four papyrus examples of the word πομπαγωγός, there is no clear evidence of his precise function. In A.D. ii, a talent mentioned in an account ὑπὲρ τῆς κα]τὰ τὴν ἐξηγητείαν πομπαγωγίας (2127 6) indicates the connection of the exegetes with these processions.

¹ Add now BGU 2118 4.

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰεχυρίωνος: the name of the father and that of the son have not occurred before together. Professor P. Mertens of the University of Liège has kindly suggested by letter some places where an Ἀπολλώνιος is mentioned and contemporary to Apollonius son of Ischyrion of 2768. (i) PSI 74, 10, A.D. iii, ex-agoranomos and senator. (2) P. Harris 75, 3, A.D. iii (?), ex-exegetes, senator, and

keeper of the Archives. (3) 59. 5, A.D. 292, ex-hypomnematographus and strategus.

4-6 ἐξηγητεύcας . . . ἀρχιερεύς: the exegetes dealt with juristic cases at Alexandria (Jouguet, l.c., pp. 198, 200) as well as in the metropolis (cf. P. Ryl. 77, A.D. 54-67, 1 n.). The competence of the ἀρχιερεύς in legal affairs is not clear (cf. Jouguet, l.c., pp. 338 seqq.). It may be assumed that these two μεςῖται were merely acting in a private arbitration. The limits between the administrative and religious functions of the office of the ἀρχιερεύς are still in need of study, cf. E. P. Wegener, Mnemosyne (1948), pp. 15 seqq.

6 Capâ is the genitive in P. Osl. inv. 1036, recto 2; Capâτος (e.g. 1293) is more common, cf. Symb.

Osl. xxxviii (1963), p. 41, n. 2.

10-11 This archidicastes is not previously known (cf. A. Calabi, Aegyptus xxxii 406 seqq.). An Aur. Achilles is met as strategus of Arsinoe: Αὐρήλιος ἄχιλλεὺς ὁ καὶ Πτολλαρίων ετρατηγὸς ἄρεινοίτου (SB 4421, 1, A.D. iii).

20 ἔδοξεν κοινῆ γνώμη (cf. P. Lond. v 1708, A.D. 567). For the various terms of the decision of the

arbitrators, see Rees, JJP vii-viii 252 seq.

22 ὑπὲρ τοῦ δίκας μὴ ἔχειν: for the exchange of περί and ὑπέρ see Mayser, ii² 453. ὑπέρ is used in our document to denote reason instead of περί (cf. Blass–Debrunner, § 231). See also examples in Mayser, ii¹ 328.

28 $\tau \dot{o} = \tau \dot{o} \langle v \rangle$: for the omission of the final v, see P. Osl. ii 33, 9; 44, 11; Mayser, i 99, 192.

2769. AGREEMENT CONCERNING SUBSTITUTION IN SITOLOGIA

22.5×9.5 cm.

A.D. 242

Contract whereby Aurelius Philosarapis, son of Zoilus, who was nominated by the amphodogrammateus for the liturgy of sitologia, makes an agreement by which Aurelius Sarapion will carry out the routine tasks of his office. This contract is, to a great extent, similar to P. Mich. inv. 259 of A.D. 223 (unpublished); I should like to thank Professor H. C. Youtie who kindly sent me a transcript of it. Both documents offer a full description of the duties of a sitologus, reveal how a substitute was hired, and make clear that appointment of a substitute does not alter the responsibility to the state of the principal. A hired employee such as this was paid for by the hirer (cf. N. Lewis, *Proceed. of IXth Intern. Congr. of Papyr.*, p. 241; id., P. Leit. 13 and introd.).

όμολογοῦς ἀλλήλοις Αὐρήλιος Φιλοςαρᾶπις
Ζωΐλου μητρὸς Θαήςιος ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως ἀναδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
ἀμφοδογραμματέως εἰς ςειτολογίαν δημοςείου π[[ο]]υροῦ κώμης Τανάεως τοῦ ἐνεςτῶτος
ε (ἔτους) καὶ Αὐρήλιος Ca[ρα]πίων ὁ καὶ 'Ωρίων Caραπίωνος μητρὸ[ς Εὐ]ὸαιμονίδος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
πόλ[εως, ὁ μὲν Αὐρ]ήλιος Φιλοςαρᾶπις ςυνηλ-

ωνι τὴν [προκειμ]ένην ςειτολογίαν ἐπὶ [τῷ] 10 αὐτὸν π[α]ρ[αλ]αβεῖν τὸν δημόςιο[ν] ήμιαρτάβιον καὶ τὸν με[τ]ρούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς ςειτολογίας δημόςιον πυρον καὶ ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς μετροῦςι θέματα καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ *ετρατηγ*ῶ τὰ *ευνήθη ευναιραίματα* καὶ τοὺ*ε* 15 μηνιαίους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιζητούμενα τῆς cειτολογίας βιβλία καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἐπιςταληςομένοις ναυκλήροις (πρός) την αὐτην εκιτολογίαν πάντα τὸν μετρηθηςόμενον ἐπ' αὐτῆς δημότιον πυρὸν πλήρη ΰ⟨γ⟩ιῶς καὶ πιττῶς 20 καὶ λαβεῖν εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ςειτολόγου τὰς ςυνήθεις ἀποχὰς καὶ ἀπαρενόχλητον καὶ ἀνείςπρακτον καὶ ἄςκυλτον παρέξειν τὸν Φιλοςαρᾶπιν περί παντός άπλῶς διαφέροντος τῆ αὐτῆ ςειτολογία, ὁ δὲ Αὐρήλιος ζαραπί-25 ων δ καὶ 'Ωρίων εὐπιθης γενόμενος ὑπὸ Φιλοςαράπιδος περί των της ςειτολογίας άναλωμάτων πάντων έκαςτα ποιήςιν ώς έπάνω δεδήλωται. κύριον τὸ δμολόγημα διςcòν γραφèν πρὸς τ[ὸ έκάτερο]ν ἔχειν μον[a-] 30 χον καὶ ἐπερωτής αν [τ] ες ἀλλή [λους ώ] μολόγης αν. (ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίςαρος Μάρ[κ]ου Άντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐ c ϵ β ο \hat{c} Eਂ \hat{c} τ ψ [χο] \hat{v} c c ϵ β a c τ o \hat{v} Παῦνι $\bar{\theta}$. Αὐρήλιος ζαρα $[\pi i]$ ων δ κ(αi) 35 ώς πρόκειται κ[α]ὶ δ[ιαπέπει]ςμαι(?) περὶ τ(ῶν) $\dot{a}\nu[a]\lambda\omega\mu\dot{a}\tau\omega[\nu\pm 12]$ $\epsilon \tilde{\beta} \pi i \tau \hat{\eta} c c \iota (\tau o \lambda o \gamma i a c)$ καὶ ἕκα $[c\tau]$ α ποι $[\pm 13]$ $.[\pm 8]$ verso: cυνάλλαγμα cιτολ(ογίας).

4 l. ειτολογίαν (ll. 10, 18), δημοείου 15 l. ευναιρέματα 21 l. ειτολόγου 25 l. ειτολογία 26 l. εὐπειθής

'Aurelius Philosarapis son of Zoilus, his mother being Thaesis of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, who was nominated by the amphodogrammateus of the same city for the sitologia of the public corn of the village of Tanais in the current 5th year, and Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion son of Sarapion, his mother being Eudaemonis of the same city, agree, on the one hand, that Aurelius Philosarapis has transferred to Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion the aforementioned sitologia on condition that he will collect the public tax of half an artaba and the public corn paid in the sitologia and will issue receipts to the payers and will submit the usual summaries and the monthly reports and all the required accounts of the sitologia to the strategus of the nome and will deliver in full, honourably, and faithfully, to the shippers who will be directed to the said sitologia all the public corn paid on its account and will receive the usual receipts in the name of the sitologus, and will render Philosarapis undisturbed and free from exaction and damage with reference to absolutely everything related to the said sitologia; and on the other hand that Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion, satisfied by Philosarapis concerning all the expenses of the sitologia, will perform every task as set forth above. The agreement, written in duplicate so that each may have one copy, is valid, and questioning each other they agreed. The 5th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Payni 9. I, Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion son of Sarapion, have agreed as mentioned and have been satisfied concerning the expenses . . . '

I Αὐρήλιος Φιλοςαρᾶπις: the person whom the amphodogrammateus had appointed for the sitologia (cf. P. Mertens, Les Services de l'état civil, p. 9), not previously attested.

12 τον μετρούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς ςειτολογίας: for this local usage of ἐπί see Mayser, ii^2 469.

13-14 καὶ ἐκδοῦναὶ τοῖς μετροῦςι θέματα: the word θέμα is frequently used in the papyri to mean 'deposit'. When a deposit was actually brought to the θηςανρός, the wheat was described as μεμετρημένος (cf. 518 1–5, A.D. 179–80). The wheat which was paid or transferred from the account of a certain person to that of somebody else was described as διεςταλμένος (cf. 516 7–8, A.D. 160; 517 1–9, A.D. 130; 1530; 1539; 1540; 1444 4 n.). When such persons asked for payment from their deposits, the term διαςτολικόν was used for this process (cf. 533 4). The owner of a private account could transfer the θέμα or part of it (ἀπὸ θέματος) either to the account of another person or to the public account (cf. Calderini, θηςανροί, p. 4; Preisigke, Girowesen, pp. 143 seq.). The usual term for that was διαςτέλλειν (614). The sitologus, then, must make a notification of payment (διαςτολικόν, διαςτολή). The fact that he must issue such notification is attested by the usage of the verb ἐκδιδόναι 'to issue', as in . . . ἐκδιδόντα τ[οῖς] μετροῦςι διαςτολὰς καὶ θέματα (P. Mich. inv. 259, 16), where θέματα are likely to be a kind of acknowledgement of the payment, i.e. receipts. Consequently θέματα in 2769 should mean receipts.

14 The name of the strategus of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 242 is unknown.

16–17 τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιζητούμενα τῆς cειτολογίας βιβλία: since μηνιαῖος and the cυναίρεμα are mentioned in the document, the ἐπιζητούμενα βιβλία may indicate the reports required for shorter periods or else any required account. In P. Flor. 317, 6 and introd., Vitelli concluded that daily reports were sent to the strategus, but Calderini, θηςανροί, p. 7 denied this. Hunt (2119) puts P. Flor. 317 in the same category as P. Giss. 63 where reports were sent every five days, cf. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 491; Zaki Aly, JJP iv (1950), p. 293; id., Akt. Wien., pp. 17 seqq.; P. Mert. 77, 8 seqq. n. For the term τῆς ειτολογίας βιβλία cf. P. Lond. 306 ii, p. 118, 15–16, A.D. 145, τὰ τῆς τάξεως β[ι]βλία (of a praktor argyrikon); P. Fay. 35, 8–9, A.D. 150–1; τὰς ἀποχὰς τῶν καταχωριζομένων βιβλείων τῆς τάξεως. The βιβλία mentioned here are likely to be the account-books, in which everything related to the sitologia is recorded, rather than the reports made to other authorities.

22-3 Cf. **1626** 18-20, παραςχεῖν τὰ φανηςόμενα ςαλάρια πρὸς τὸ ἀπαρενοχλήτους καὶ ἀςκύλτους καὶ

άζημίους παρέχειν.

26-8 'Ωρίων εὐπιθὴς γενόμενος . . . περὶ τῶν τῆς τειτολογίας ἀναλωμάτων πάντων: the way of covering the salary as well as the other expenses is usually expressed more clearly: expenses in P. Lond. 306, 17-18, A.D. 145, χωρηγοῦντος τὰς χάρτας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δαπάνης οὕςης πρὸς αὐτόν, salary in P. Fay. 35, 4-5, A.D. 150-1, τὰς τονεςταμένας [ἡ]μεῖν ὑπὲρ ταλαρείου. The salary in such contracts was usually distinguished from the ἀναλώματα of the liturgy (cf. P. Eitrem 6, 17-18, A.D. 222-35, in Klio xxii (1929), pp. 225 seqq.; P. Mich. inv. 259, 22-3, A.D. 223; BGU 1062, 20, A.D. 236; P. Leit. 13, 17-20, mid A.D. iii). But in our document the hired substitute is to be satisfied π ερὶ τῶν τῆς τειτολογίας ἀναλωμάτων πάντων. In ll. 36-7 in κ[a]ὶ δ[ιαπέπει]ςμαι(?) περὶ τ(ῶν) ἀν[a]λωμάτω[ν the substitute acknow-

ledges receipt of a sum of money for the expenses of the liturgy, but it is not to be expected that more details about the expenses and the salary would have been in the mutilated part. It must be assumed that the $\partial u \lambda \omega \mu a \tau a$ include the salary.

34 The date of the document in the month of Payni establishes the time of the beginning of the

leiturgia.

36 δ[ιαπέπει]ςμαι(?). Cf. BGU 1062 19, the only other reference in the papyri. However διάπειςμα is very common and lends some support.

2770. Deed of Divorce

11.6 × 27.0 cm.

26 January, A.D. 304

Deed of divorce between Aurelius Heracles and Aurelia Maria. The wife's name Maria raises the question whether she was Jewish or Christian. On Tcherikover's criteria, CPJ i xvii–xviii, she should be considered as Jewish. But since her family and husband's family bear Graeco-Egyptian names, and the document itself offers no other indication of her religion, it is possible to accept her as a pagan, believing her name to be a reflection of Jewish or Christian influence. A few places where the surface is rubbed have been restored from parallels (cf. Mitteis, Chr. 330 seqq.), not always easily because of the scribe's inability to sustain a grammatical construction.

'Επὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυ[ρ]ίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρ[ατόρων Διοκλητι[αν]οῦ τὸ [θ] ζ΄΄ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ης" ζεβαςτῶν Αὐρήλιοι 'Ηρακλῆς ζεραπίωνος μη(τρὸς) Οδινας ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) 'Οξυρυγχειτών πόλεως καὶ ή γενομένη καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένη μου γυναικὶ Αὐρηλία Μαρία 'Ηρακλείδου μη(τρός) Ταυώνιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν όμολογοῦμεν ἀπεζεθχθαι τῆ[ς] π[ρὸ]ς ἀλλήλους ευμβιώς εως 10 καὶ ἕκαςτος ἡμῶν ἀπεςχηκέναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ π[άντ]α ἐκ πλήρους καὶ οὐδὲν ςοὶ ἐγκαλῦ[ν] οὐδὲ [ἐ]ν[κ]αλές[ι]ν οὐδ[ὲ] ἐπελεύςαςθαι οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ςυμβιώς εως ἐγ'γράφου [η] ἀγ[ρά]φου πράγμ[ατος η δ]φ[ιλ]ήμα-15 $τος \mathring{\eta} α..ο..ν..[..].γμ..[9]ως$ έκ τῶν ἔμπροςθεν χρό[ν]ω[ν] μέχρει τῆς ένεςτώς ης ήμέρας τέκ[ν]α[]ν έξ ἀλλήλων μὴ ὄ[ν]των [....] ἐξουςίαν ἔχειν ὁπότερος ἡμῶ[ν ά]ρμόζεςθαι 20

 $\dot{\psi}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\alpha}[\nu]$ αἰρ $\dot{\omega}\mu\epsilon\theta$ α γάμ $\dot{\omega}$ ἀν $\dot{\epsilon}[\upsilon\theta\dot{\upsilon}]\nu\dot{\omega}$ καὶ ἀνε[γ]κλήτω ὄντι· κύρια τὰ τῆς ἀποζυγῆ[ς γ]ράμματα διςςὰ ⟨γ⟩ραφέντα προς το έκατερον έχειν μοναχον καὶ έπερωτηθέντες ώμολογήςαμεν. 25 ἔτους κ ζ΄΄ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ζεβαςτῶν καὶ ιβς" τῶν κυρίων ή μιων Κωνςταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεςτάτ ων $Kaic[\acute{a}]\rho\omega\nu T\hat{v}\beta\iota \bar{\lambda}$ 30 Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλῆς 2nd hand) ἀπεζεύχθην τῆς προις cè cυβίωςιν καὶ ἔςχον τὰ ήμέτερα πάντα ώς πρό-[κ]ιται καὶ ἐπερωτηθὶς ώ-35 μολόγηςα.

4 l. Αὐρήλιος 7 l. γυνή 13 l. ἐπελεύςεςθαι 14 δε written over a cancelled π 33 l. $\epsilon \nu \mu$ -βιώςεως

'In the consulships of our lords the emperors Diocletian Augustus for the ninth and Maximian Augustus for the eighth time. Aurelius Heracles son of Serapion his mother being . . ., of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, and my former and divorced wife Aurelia Maria daughter of Heracleides her mother being Tauonis (?) of the same city greetings. We agree to have dissolved our mutual union and that each of us has all his belongings fully, and I do not make against you nor will make any claim, nor proceed on account of written or unwritten matters of the same union, nor of debt or of any other thing whatsoever from former times up to the present day. Since there are no children of our union, . . . each of us has the power to marry whom he may choose without incurring liability or claim. This document of the dissolution (of the marriage) is valid. It was written in two copies in order that each should have one copy, and having been questioned we agreed Year 20 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian the Augusti, and 12 of our lords Constantius and Maximian, the most distinguished Caesars, Tybi 30.

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Heracles, have dissolved the union with you and have all my belongings as aforesaid, and having been questioned I agreed.'

⁵ As a reading a name like ζεκουνδίνας might be acceptable.

¹² Cf. 266 16-19, P. Grenf. ii 76, 16-19.

¹⁶ Perhaps one should restore $\mathring{\eta}$ άλλου τινὸς $[\pi\rho]$ άγματ[ος $\mathring{\alpha}\pi\alpha\xi\alpha\pi\lambda]$ $\hat{\omega}$ c. P. Strasb. 142, 15–18 (A.D. 391) has $\mathring{\eta}$ $\mathring{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\mathring{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau$ ος $[\epsilon]$ νκλ $\mathring{\eta}[\mu\alpha\tau$ ος ζ $\eta\tau\mathring{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau$ ος] ϵ ἰς $\mathring{\alpha}\pi\lambda\mathring{\omega}$ ς.

¹⁸ Possibly τέκνων δὲ ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων μὴ ὅντων was intended.

2771. Power of Attorney

 21×10 cm.

A.D. 323

The purport of this document is straightforward enough, but no formal parallel to it has come to my notice. This may be because the original was drawn up on the island of Cos. The evidence, though not conclusive, suggests that this is a copy made in Egypt. It seems that the subscription, which should be an autograph, is in the same hand as the rest. This could, however, be because the woman who delegated authority for the sale of a slave could not write. The loss of the foot would have removed the declaration of a $\delta\pi\sigma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\delta$. The writing and orthography are typical of Egyptian papyri, but we have no reason for supposing that these things would be very different on Cos.

The presence of this document at Oxyrhynchus probably indicates that at least one of the people mentioned in it, the woman, her husband and attorney, her slave, or the hypothetical buyer of the slave, made the journey from Cos to Oxyrhynchus.

Other ἐντολαί of various forms are P. Lond. ii 233, P. Lips. 38, 1423, and P. Cair. Masp. i 67124. This list is given by P. Simon, Zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel, p. 87.

τοῖς ἐς[ο]μένοις ἐ[κ τ]ρίτου ὑπάτοις πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων ἐν τῆ λαμπρᾶ Κώων πόλ[ε]ι μηνὸς ἄγριανίου [] Αὐρηλεία ἄρτεμωνὶς Κώα ἄδωκα ἐντολὴν τῷ ἀνδρί μουιῳ πρὸς ⟨ς⟩ τὸ αἰξουςίαν αὐτ[ὸ]ν αἴχιν δειὰ ταύτης μου τῆς ἐντολῆς θέλης πωλεῖ⟨ν⟩ θέλης χαρίζεςθαι τὴ]ν δούλην μου [Θ]ξοδώρα⟨ν⟩ ἣν ἢγόρας μοι εἰς ὄνομά μου πρὸς ⟨τὸ⟩ ἀπόδιξ[ι]ν καὶ ἀμεριμνείαν αἴχιν τὸν αἰωνου-μ[ε]ν[ο]ν καὶ μηδε⟨ν]μίαν αὐτὸν αἴχιν ζήτηςιν καὶ δί, ἀὐτῆς μου τῆς ἐντολῆς κύριον εἶνε καὶ βέβαιον. Αὐρ[ηλία ἄρτεμωνὶς Κ]ῷα ...[..]...[.]a.[..]...

Verso (along the fibres) $\epsilon \pi \iota \tau \rho o \pi \iota \kappa \dot{\gamma} \dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau [o] \dot{\lambda} \dot{\gamma} [$

4. l. Αὐρηλία, ἔδωκα 5 l. ἐξουςίαν, ἔχειν, διά 6 l. θέλεις, θέλεις? 8 l. ἀπόδειξιν, ἀμεριμνίαν, ἔχειν, ἐωνημένον? ἀνούμενον? 9 l. ἔχειν 10 l. εἶναι

'Under the consuls to be designated for the third time, the 8th day before the Kalends of July, in the glorious city of the Coans, in the month of Agrianius.

I, Aurelia Artemonis, woman of Cos, gave a mandate to my husband, ...ius, so that he might have power, through this mandate of mine, either to sell or to bestow my slave Theodora, whom he bought for me in my name, so that the buyer may have proof of purchase and security, and so that he may be subject to no investigation, and through the same mandate of mine (the transaction?) shall be valid and warranted. I, Aurelia Artemonis, woman of Cos, ...'

(Verso) 'Delegatory mandate.'

5

Ι ϵ [κ τ]ρίτου = τὸ τρίτου: cf. Ev. Matt. 26, 44; Dsc. 5, 32. The date is 24th June, A.D. 323, cf. Kase, P. Princ. Roll, pp. 32–6 for the year, and **2767** I.

2 Κώων: according to Steph. Byz. there was a city called Κως in Egypt, taken to be Kus, or Apollinopolis Parva (RE xi 1480(2)), and there was an ἐποίκιον Κῶς in the Arsinoite nome, but the following month-name supports the view that this is the city on the well-known island of the same

3 Aypıaviov: for the problems of the Coan calendar see Paton and Hicks, Inscriptions of Cos and Calymnus, pp. 329 seqq. This passage shows that Agrianius partly coincided with June in A.D. 323. The gap after it seems hardly big enough to have held a letter/figure in this largish hand.

4 Aρτεμωνίς: not in NB or Pape.

άδωκα: the errors of spelling are all of well-known phonetic kinds and may be covered by

a general reference to Mayser's Grammatik, vol. i.

6 θέλης . . . θέλης : cf. P. Tebt. 421, 7 seqq. τὸ δὲ καλλάϊνον μ[ἡ] ἐνίγκης (l. -έγκης) ἀλλὰ θέλις (l. -εις) αὐτὸ πωληςα[ι] πώληςον, θέλις (l. -εις) αὐτὸ ἀφείναι τῆ θυγατρί του ἄφες, treated in Blass-Debrunner § 471 as an example of colloquial co-ordination in place of conditional subordination. This example and the related $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon \iota c$ où $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon \iota c$, nolens volens (LSJ $\acute{\epsilon} \theta \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \omega$, 4), imply that $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \eta c$ are here indicatives. The analogy of the Latin vel . . . vel, where vel is supposed to be an old imperative of volo, might lead one to suppose that they were independent subjunctives of command, cf. Horn, Subjunctive and Optative, pp. 120-3. (I owe to the O.U.P. reader the reference to another passage (Epiph. haer. 73, 35) with a very similar usage. quoted in the Patristic Greek Lexicon, s.v. θέλω III.)

7 [Θ] ϵ 0 δ ω ρ a $\langle \nu \rangle$: there is not room for $[K\lambda]\epsilon$ 0 δ ω ρ a ν . Other possibilities, B10 δ ω ρ a and Δ 10 δ ω ρ a (see Dornseiff-Hansen, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen), are excluded by the trace.

10 δι' αὐτῆς μου. This reading is doubtful and does not produce a very straightforward text, but

it suits the fairly extensive remains too well to be omitted.

II It is not certain that this is the subscription, but Aurelius or Aurelia is virtually certain and there seems to be no other good reason either for the repetition of the names of the parties or for the entrance of another character. For possible subscription formulas see 1423 12, P. Lips. 38, 7, P. Lond. ii. 233, 14, all different.

VERSO. This endorsement in large cursive runs downwards along the fibres close to the righthand edge. It was done, I think, by a more expert hand than the writing of the recto, but this impression, based on the more formal style, may be wrong. In the left corner across the fibres there is another endorsement of two short lines in a small and rapid cursive, which has suffered damage from abrasion and worms. I have failed to read it. This too seems to me too expert for the writer of the recto. It is more difficult to decide whether it could be by the same writer as the other endorsement, but I think that there were three people at work.

2772. Instructions to a Banker

11.5×12.5 cm.

A.D. 10/11?

The writer of this note had a Roman nomen and used the Roman alphabet, but the Greek language. Transliteration was a stage in the learning of a second language, as is shown by the Greek-Latin glossaries in the script of one or other language (2660, 2660(a), Pack 2 3003-5). PSI 743 (CPL 69), a transliteration of a conversation between Alexander and the gymnosophists, may have had some educational aim also, but that seems hardly likely here, and I can offer no explanation that I think likely. A similar case is SB 6304 (= FIRA, Negotia 134), a Latin sale the body of which is written in the Greek alphabet.¹

¹ Compare now a subscription to BGU xi ii 2116; from the plate (Taf. VIII) one might hazard something like D]EDANICA TAS PROCIM[ENAS ARGY] | ²² [RIV DRACHMA]S · HEBDEME-CONTA . . . [= $\delta\epsilon\delta\acute{a}\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa a$ τὰς προκειμένας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς έβδομήκοντα. The number at any rate is certain and the inference that the subscription is Greek in Latin letters is plainly to be made. The editor cites as a parallel P. Tebt. ii 586, which has a three-word endorsement written in the same way. While this note was in the press substantially the same correction was published independently by Dr. G. M. Browne in ZPE IV (1969) pp. 45-6.

Though there are wrong aspirations (ARPOCHRATIONI 3, H?]ENACOSIAS 5) and one abnormal usage (ETOS 6 n.), the Greek is good. The conventions of transliteration are consistent. Greek ov is represented by V (IVLIOS 1, ARGYRIV 4), or by OE (MOE 2), at by AE (CHAEREIN 2, CAESAROS 7), and v by Y (COLLYBISTE 1, 3, ARGYRIV 4).

Punctuation is provided liberally between the words in the form of a middle stop. Once or twice it is missing inside the lines. At the ends it never occurs though

every line ends with a word end.

On the back there is one letter only, a Greek alpha, upside down in relation to the writing on the front, about 1.5 cm. below the middle of the top edge on its own side.

JIVLIOS · LEPOS ARCHIBIO · COLLYBISTE

CHAEREIN · POESON · MOE · PARA

ARPOCHRATIONI · COLLYBISTE

ARGYŖIV · DRACHMAS · CHILIAS

.]ENACOSIAS · PENTECONTA

TREIJṢ · G(INONTAE) DR(ACHMAE) MCMLIII [·] ETỌS

XĻ [·] CAḤSAROS · PACHON · III

'Julius Lepos to Archibius the banker greeting. Pay to my account with Harpochration the banker one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three drachmas of silver. Total, 1,953 dr. Year 40 of Caesar, Pachon 3.'

I The left edge here is not the original one, so that there may also have been a praenomen, par-

ticularly if it was represented by an abbreviation, as they so commonly are.

Lepos is known only as the name of a dancer in Hor. Sat. ii 6, 72. It is possible, though not remotely likely, that this is the same person about forty years older. He is described in the scholia of Pseudacron as 'grati Caesari' and might have acquired the Roman citizenship from Augustus with the names C. Julius.

After LEPOS the dot that divides the words is not detectable and was more probably omitted

than rubbed away.

5

COLLYBISTE. Once only in WB from P. Petr. iii 59 (a) 7, κολλ]υβισταί.

2 POESON = πόηςον. The Attic form is common in the papyri, see WB, which cites P. Fay.

87, 3 (of A.D. 115) for $\pi o \iota \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu = \text{'pay'}$, but this is a rare usage.

5]ENACOSIAS. Nothing is required, but indentation is unlikely. Perhaps it was written H]ENACOSIAS with the wrong aspiration, cf. ARPOCHRATIONI 3, and HENATON for ἔνατον in PSI 743, 13. See Mayser, i 199–203 for many examples in ordinary Greek owing to the gradual disappearance of the rough breathing.

6 G(INONTAE) DR(ACHMAE). There is a space and there may have been a dot after G.

After DR there is neither and the right leg of R cuts into the following M.

MCMLIII. The symbol for 1,000 is not like the M in MOE (2) and DRACHMAS (4), but is

a rounded version. For the shape of it cf. Ch.L.A. iii no. 208 ii 2, iii 29.

ETOS. ĕτουc is the appropriate form in this sort of context; ἔτοι is also found in the Ptolemaic period, but I cannot find another example of the accusative in a regnal year dating. ETVS as a reading is much less likely than ETOS. The letter is undamaged but oddly written. For the form of O here and elsewhere in the document but especially in CAESAROS and PACHON (7), cf. Mallon, Pal. Rom. 66 (p. 38).

7 XL. Feet only are visible but the foot of L is very appropriate, sloping down at a shallow angle under the beginning of the next word. X depends very much on the correctness of L, but the trace is appropriate to the lower left arm of X. $XL[I\cdot]$ might be possible.

2773. Loan of Money in Return for Use of a Weaver's Loom

 7.0×28.8 cm.

15 November, A.D. 82

Fragment of a loan in which the use of a weaver's loom is conceded by the debtors instead of the payment of interest. The debtors, two brothers, are referred to in the singular and in the plural alternatively. To judge from 1. 38 it seems that one of them acted for both at the moment of writing the contract and that therefore he only handed over the loom (cf. 10) whereas the arrangements for the return of the debt concerned both brothers and thus are put forward in the plural (cf. 5 seq.; 11, 17, 20 seq.; 25, 29-31). The surface of the papyrus is much damaged.

'Ηρακλης καὶ Πτολλᾶς αμφότεροι Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως Πέρςαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Διογᾶτι 'Ηρακλήου χαίρειν. ἔχω-5 μεν παρά coῦ διὰ χιρὸς έξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου ς εβας τοῦ νομίς ματος δραχμάς δέκα δύο κ[εφαλαίου ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν τούτων τόκων έξέςτην χρηςιν 10 οῦ ἔχωμεν ίςτοῦ γερδιακοῦ πηχῶν τριῶν παρὰ παλεςτὰς δύο, οὖ ἀντία δύο ἱςτόποδες δύ[ο] ἐπιμητον ἕν, ἐπὶ μηνας εξ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεςτώ-15 c]ης ήμέρας, μεθ' οῦς καὶ ảποδώςωμέν ςοι τὰς τοῦ άργυρίου δραχμάς δέκα δύο χωρίς ύπερθέςεως, έὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδώμεν, καθὰ γέ-20 γραπται, έκτείςωμέν ςοι ταύτας ςὺν ἡμιωλία και

τόκοις. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἀποδόςι παραδώςις ήμειν τον ίστον ύγιη 25 πλην τρίψεως ὄντον άλλήλων έγγύ(ων) εἰς ἔκτιςι[ν, της πράξεως τοι οὔςης ἔκ τε ήμῶν καὶ οδ ἐὰν ἡμῶν αίρη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμεῖν πάντων. κυρία ή χὶρ πανταχοῦ έπιφερομ[έ]νη. (έτους) β Α[ὐτοκ]ρ[άτορος Καίς]αρος Δ[ο]μιτιανοῦ ζεβαςτοῦ 35 μη(νὸς) Νέου ζεβαςτοῦ μθ. 'Ηρακ[λ]ῆς Πτολεμαίου (2nd hand) ἔχω ςὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ έπὶ τῆ τοῦ εἰςτοῦ χρήςει τὰς τοῦ{του} ἀργυρίου δρα-40 χμὰς δέκα δύω κεφαλέου καὶ ἀποδώ-ώς πρόκιτα. (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος 45 Καίςαρος Δο μιτιανοῦ **C**εβας τοῦ μη(νὸς) Νέου $C \in \beta a c \tau [o \hat{v} \ \iota \theta \ (?)]$

5 l. ἔχομεν 6 l. χειρός 11 l. ἔχομεν 12 l. παλαιστάς 17 l. ἀποδώςομεν 21 l. ἐκτείςομεν 22 l. ἡμιολία 24 l. ἀποδόςει, παραδώςεις 25 l. ἡμ \hat{i} ν 26 l. ὄντων 31 l. ἡμ \hat{i} ν 32 l. χείρ 39 l. ἱςτο \hat{i} ν 41 l. δύο 42 l. κεφαλαίου, ἀποδώςομεν 44 l. πρόκειτη

'Heracles and Ptollas, both sons of Ptolemaeus, of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, Persians of the Epigone, to Diogas, son of Heracleus, greeting. We receive from you from hand to hand out of your house 12 drachmas of silver of imperial coinage as the principal and instead of the interest on them I concede you the use of a weaver's loom which we possess measuring 3 cubits less 2 palms, comprising 2 rollers, 2 beams and 1..., for 6 months from the present day after which we shall give you back the 12 drachmas of silver without any delay. If we do not repay according to what has been written, we shall pay you these drachmas with a penalty of one half and with the interest. On the return of the money you will give us the weaver's loom in good order except for wear and tear;

we are mutual sureties for the repayment. You have the right of execution upon us and whichever you choose of us and upon all our property. The contract is valid wherever presented. In the 2nd year of the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus, in the month Neos Sebastos, 19th.

I, Heracles, son of Ptolemaeus, receive with my brother for the use of a weaver's loom 12 drachmas of silver as the principal and we shall return it . . . as said above. In the 2nd year of the Emperor

Caesar Domitian Augustus, month of Neos Sebastos . . . '

12 seqq. Cf. 264 (54) 3-5 on a similar description of a weaver's loom, and E. Wipszycka, L'Industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine (1965), pp. 52 seqq. on looms in general. The part which is called έπιμητον in l. 14 is not known otherwise. The word may be connected with μίτος.

43 $\epsilon \xi a$ A possible, but doubtful, interpretation of the ink would be $\epsilon \xi d\lambda \langle \lambda \eta \lambda \rangle \epsilon \nu \chi \dot{\nu} \eta \epsilon$, cf. 25. $\epsilon \xi a \mu \eta \nu \iota a \iota \omega \epsilon$, cf. 15, seems impossible.

2774. Loan of Money

16.3×10.8 cm.

A.D. 129

Agathodaemon son of Diogenes acknowledges to Pausanias son of Sarapion that he has received a loan of one talent and 1,500 drachmae of silver imperial money for one year, from Hathyr to Phaophi, at interest of 6 per cent per annum.

Α[γαθ]ὸς Δαίμων Δι[ογ]ένους τοῦ Θέωνος ζωςικόςμιος ὁ καὶ Αλθ[α]ιεύς Παυςανία Καραπίωνος τοῦ Καραπίωνος μητρός Άπολλωνοῦτος ἀπ' 'Οξυρύνχων πόλεως χαίρειν. 'Ομολογῷ [ἔχ]ειν παρὰ cοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου ςεβαςτοῦ νομίτματος δραχμάς έπτακιςχιλίας πεντακοςίας 5 αί ε[ί]ςιν ἀργυρί[ο]υ τάλαντον ξιν καὶ δραχμαὶ χίλιαι πεντακ[ό] ςιαι γί(νονται) τάλαντον ξυ καὶ δραχμαὶ χίλιαι πεντακός ιαι [κε]φα[λαί]ου αἷε οὐδὲν τῷ καθόλου προεῆκται τόκου τριωβολείου έκάςτης μνᾶς κατὰ μῆνα ἔκαςτον ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰcιόντος μηνὸς Αθύρ τοῦ ἐνεςτῶτος τεςςαρεςκαιδεκάτου то ἔτο[υς Άδρι]ανοῦ κα̞ίςα[ρο]ς [το]ῦ κυρίου, ἃ[ς κα]ὶ ἀποδώςω [ςο]ι χω[ρὶς πάς]ης ὑπερθέ[ςε]ω[ς] {εως} Φαῶ[φ]ι τριακάδι τοῦ [π]έ[μπτου] κ[αὶ] δεκάτου ἔτους τοῦ εἰςιόντος Άδριανοῦ καίςαρος τοῦ [κυ]ρί[ο]υ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραπται ἐ[κ]τείς[ω c]ο[ι] τὸ $\pi \rho [o] \kappa [\epsilon \iota \mu] \epsilon \nu o \nu$ $\kappa \epsilon [\phi \acute{a}] \lambda a [\iota o \nu]$ $\mu \epsilon \theta$ $[\acute{\eta}] \mu [\iota o \lambda \iota] a [\epsilon$ 15

'Agathodaemon son of Diogenes son of Theon of the Sosicosmian tribe and Althean deme, to Pausanias son of Sarapion son of Sarapion, his mother being Apollonous from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you, hand to hand out of your house, a sum of 7,500 drachmae of silver imperial coin which are I talent and I,500 drachmae, total one talent and I,500 drachmae, to which nothing has been added at all, at the interest of 3 obols for each mina per month dating from the coming month Hathyr of the current 14th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. These I will repay you without any delay on the 30th Phaophi of the coming 15th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. If I do not repay you in accordance with the agreement, I will forfeit to you the aforesaid sum with the addition of one half . . . '

2 Παυτανίας Cαραπίωνος τοῦ Cαραπίωνος: so far as the date goes, this Pausanias might be identified with Pausanias (6), son of Sarapion, in the family reconstructed by Turner JEA 38 (1952) 86 seq.; the mother and grandfather would be new. For another addition to this family, see 2793. 3–4 below. 8 τόκου τριωβολείου: cf. A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 450.

2775. Acknowledgement of a Loan of Wheat for Sowing

15.5×15 cm.

Late third century

Acknowledgement of a loan of wheat for sowing, in two columns of which col. i on the left-hand side has 23 complete lines except for the first three which are damaged, col. ii only the beginnings of 23 lines. Both are mutilated at the foot. The two columns (written in the same hand) begin with the proper names $A i p \eta \lambda i o i$ $Tov \rho$ [. Therefore col. i contains a complete text and col. ii begins another. Since the text of col. ii seems too long to be an abstract of the acknowledgement and the lines could be similar to those of col. i, the two columns are assumed to be identical and the deed to have been written in duplicate on a single sheet, as in 988, 1040, and P. Mich. 423, 424. Only col. i is printed. The underlining shows what is preserved in the line-beginners of col. ii.

Αὐρήλιοι Τούρ[βων καὶ ...]ας ἀμφότεροι Αϋςιρ[.... μητρὸς Cι]νθώνιος (?)
ἀπὸ κώμη[ς κ]αταμένοντες ἐν ἐποικίω πρότερον ἱερέων

δ Αὐρηλίω Μαξίμω Cαρᾶτος πραγματευτῆ τῶν πρότερον Άμμωνίωνος
νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου
χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ὀφείλειν
ςοι ᾶς ἔςχομεν εἰς λόγον καταςποματος τοῦ προδιελθόντι ε (ἔτει) ἀπὸ γενήματος τοῦ προδιελθόντος δ (ἔτους) ἀρτάβας εἴκοςι ἐννέα, τῷ δὲ ἐνεςτῶτι
ς (ἔτει) ἀπὸ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος

ε (ἔτους) ἀρτάβας δεκαοκτώ, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρτάβας τεςςαράκοντα ἑπτά, ὧν ταξόμεθα ςοὶ διάφορον τὸ φα-νης[όμεν]ον ἐπὶ ἑτέρων γεωρ-γῶν [το]ῷ αὐτοῦ ἐποικίου, ἄςπερ ἀποδώςομεν ςοὶ τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ ἐφ' ἄλω τοῦ ἐποικίου πυροῦ νεοῦ καθαροῦ ἀδόλου ἀβώλου ἀκρίθου κε-[κος]κινευμ[ένου] μέτρῳ ῷ καὶ παρ-[ειλήφαμεν]..εποι

'Aurelii Tour[bon and ...]as both sons of Aysi[rion, their mother being Si]nthonis of the village of [] and living in thefarm stead formerly of the priests to Aurelius Maximus son of Saras the agent of the estates formerly of Ammonion now of the most sacred treasury, greeting. We acknowledge that we owe you what we have received from you, on the one hand 29 artabae from the production of the year before last, which is the 4th year, for the sowing of last year, which is the 5th year, on the other hand 18 artabae of the production of last year the 5th for the sowing of the present 6th year. These are 47 artabae for which we promise to pay interest at the same rate as will be imposed on the other farmers of this same farmstead. We will deliver these to you in the month of Payni at the threshing-floor of the farmstead, in new, pure, unadulterated, sifted wheat, without earth or barley, by the same measure with which we received'

1-2 Αὐρήλιοι Τούρ[βων καὶ ...]ας κτλ.: the lacuna is of eight letters. The trace after τον is suitable for the upright and long downward stroke of ρ rather than for the somewhat sloping iota. The names which begin with Tουρ[are not numerous: Tούρβος, Tουρράνιος, Tούρβων only. Tουρράνιος is too long for the space, Tούρβος is not a usual name at Oxyrhynchus, but Tούρβων is met there (1663). If there is a καί between the names there are about 3 letters for that of the second brother. There are various names which would fit for the name of the second brother such as Mέλ]ας, Cεt]ας, Cωτ]ας, Eρμ]ας, Ερμ]ας, Ερμ]ας

5 Αὐρήλιος Μάξιμος Caρᾶτος πραγματευτής τῶν πρότερον Άμμωνίωνος νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου: a πραγματευτής Maximus is the addressee of four other documents: (a) 1544 (dated ἐπὶ ὑπάτων) and 2285 (dated 'year 2'), both from a πραγματευτής τοῦ κρατίςτου Άμμωνίωνος; (b) 1514 (year 5) and 2286 (year 6), both from Nemesammon. The mention of Ammonion identifies our man with Maximus (a); and the dating to a sixth year (12 seq.) suggests identification with Maximus (b). The years 5 and 6 will be those of Aurelian or Probus. The only thing against this is ἐπὶ ὑπάτων in 1544, which led Grenfell and Hunt to choose a date not earlier than Diocletian. But in Rech. de Pap. iii 62 no. 8 l. 5 (cf. 93 seq.) the phrase seems to reflect the uncertainty around the time of Aurelian's accession.

There is no necessity to identify this Ammonion with the κράτιστος Ammonios (1412 introd.).

If so, 2775 should be later than A.D. 285, but its date, the 6th year (12-13), can hardly be that of Diocletian = A.D. 289/90 since it is expressed by a single figure, not '6th and 5th'.

16 διάφορον = 'interest', τόκος, cf. 1474 4, 1040 10, 1042 28, etc., N. Lewis, TAPA lxxvi (1945),

pp. 126 seqq.

23 The mutilated part may be similar to 1040 16 seqq.

2776. LEASE OF LAND

 10.8×7.5 cm.

A.D. 119

Part of a lease of land, mutilated at the upper and lower edges.

	[' $E\mu$ ί c θω c εν] C αρ $[a\pi]$ ί ω [ν \pm 12 letters $d\pi$ ο τ η ς]
	' O ξ v [ρ v γχ] $ων$ π $ο$ λε $ω$ ς T [\pm 19 letters
	του[].[]. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ[ῆ]ς ' O ξυ[ρύγχων πόλεως]
	$\Pi \acute{\epsilon} \rho [\epsilon] \eta \ \tau [\hat{\eta}] \dot{\epsilon} \ [\acute{\epsilon} \pi \iota \gamma] \dot{\varrho} [\nu] \hat{\eta} \dot{\epsilon} \ \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} [\tau \eta] \ \delta \dot{v} [o] \ \dot{a} \pi [\dot{o} \ \tau o \hat{v} \ \dot{\epsilon}] \nu [\epsilon \epsilon -]$
5	$[au]\hat{\omega}$ το $[\epsilon]$ τρίτου έ $[au \epsilon]$ υς Άδριανοῦ Καίεαρος τοῦ $[\kappa]$ υρίσυ
	$[\dot{a}]\pi\dot{o}$ $ au\hat{\omega}[u]$ $\dot{v}[\pi]$ $a ho[\chi]$ \acute{o} $v[au\omega u]$ $ au\hat{\eta}$ $[\gamma]$ $v u u u i[\grave{\iota}]$ $a\dot{v}$ $\dot{\tau}$ $o\hat{v}$
	Άμμωνοῦτι Παυτίριος ἐ[δ]αφῶν περὶ Сκώ,
	$[\epsilon]$ κ μ ϵ ν το \hat{v} Άντιγόνου ἀρούρας ϵ νν ϵ α ήμιςυ
	ὥςτε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ξυλαμῆςαι ἄρακι
10	$[\epsilon]$ κ ϕ ορ $\dot{\iota}$ ου κα $ au$ ' ἄρουραν πυρο \hat{v} ἀρτα $eta\hat{\omega}$ ν δ \dot{v} ο τ \hat{arphi} δ $\dot{\epsilon}$
	$[\delta]$ ευτέρ ω ἐνιαυτ $\hat{\omega}$ cπε $\hat{\imath}$ ραι πυρ $\hat{\omega}$ ἐκφορίου κατ' \check{a} -
	[ho]ουραν πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν δέκα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Θεο-
	δώρου καὶ Αὐλαίου ἄρουραν μίαν ἀπὸ κοινω-
	γικ $\widehat{\omega}[u\ \widehat{\epsilon}]\delta a\phi \widehat{\omega} u\ \widecheck{\omega}$ ςτ ϵ τ $\widehat{\omega}$ π $[ho \omega au] \omega$ $\widehat{\epsilon}$ νιαυτ $\widehat{\omega}$
15	$[\epsilon]\pi\epsilon$ ιραι $[\pi v] ho[\hat{\omega}]$ ἐκφορίου ταυτῆς πυροῦ ἀρτα $eta\hat{\omega}$ ν
	[].[].

'Sarapion son of . . . from the city of the Oxyrhynchi has leased to . . . son of . . . also from the same city of the Oxyrhynchi, Persian of the epigone, for two years dating from the present third year of our lord Hadrian Caesar, $9\frac{1}{2}$ arourae from the land belonging to his wife Ammonous, daughter of Pausiris, near Sko, from the holding of Antigonus. For the first year, the lessee is to sow the land with aracus at a rent of two artabae of wheat per aroura. In the second year, the lessee is to sow the land with wheat at a rent of ten artabae of wheat per aroura. (The lessor has also leased) one aroura of the holding of Theodorus and Aulaeus in joint lot, on terms that the lessee sow it with wheat in the first year at a rent of'

I $\zeta \alpha \rho [\alpha \pi] / \omega [\nu]$: the letters α and ρ are the only certain ones.

⁸ Άντιγόνου (κλῆρος): not found before in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The holding might have acquired this name of an eminent person like Άντίγονος (ἐκατονταροῦρος) (P. Tebt. iii 31), or 'Ρουφώνιος Αντίγονος (SB 9604 i, A.D. 62, Elephantine) who was living outside Oxyrhynchus.

II The rental of ten artabae per aroura in the first half of the second cent. A.D. was a very high and profitable one. The average rental between A.D. 100 and 150 was c. $6\frac{3}{4}$ artabae (cf. Johnson,

Roman Egypt, pp. 81 seqq., P. Mert. 68, note l. 15).

13 (κλήρος) Θεοδώρου καὶ Αὐλαίου: the same holding in the same κώμη Cκώ was found in Oxyrhynchus one and a half centuries later **2137** 16–17 (A.D. 266). The proper name Αὐλαίου has not been met previously at Oxyrhynchus. The title Theodorus may derive from the person who had a holding in Oxyrhynchus about three and a half centuries earlier: κλήρου Θεοδώρου (P. Hib. 118, 3, 250 B.c.).

2777. SALE OF A SLAVE

23×17 cm.

4 March, A.D. 212 (?)

A contract of sale of the slave Thonis who is also called Epagathus, aged 19 years, for 1,600 drachmae of imperial silver coin. The deed is of the usual form.

[(ἔτους)] Αὐτο[κράτορος Καίςαρος] Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Αντωνε[ί]νου Πα[ρ]θικοῦ με[γ]ίςτου Βρεττανικοῦ μεγίςτου Εὐςεβοῦς ζεβαςτοῦ Άρτεμειςίου Φαμενῶθ ἢ ἐν 'Οξυρύγχων πόλει

5 ἐπεὶ ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομείου Δωροθέωνος καὶ τοῦ ςὺν αὐτῶ.

ἐπρίατο Λο[ύκιο]c Οὐαλέριος Cεουῆρος ὁ καὶ Μέλας ὡς (ἐτῶν) μδ ο[ὐλ](ἡ) ῥεινὶ μέςη παρὰ Cτατωρ[ία]c Φι[λ]οξένας ὡς (ἐτῶν) ν οὐλ(ἡ) καρπῶ

δεξιᾶς χειρὸς χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματιζού ςης κατὰ τὰ 'Ρωμαίων ἔθη τέκνων δικαίω
 [...] ἐν ἀγυιᾶ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆ οἰκο γενῆ ἐκ δούλ[ης 'Ις]ιδώρας δοῦλον Θῶνιν
 τὸν καὶ 'Επά[γ]αθον ὡς (ἐτῶν) ιθ παράςτραβον οὐλ(ὴ)

25 καὶ ἐπαφῆς τὰς δὲ ςυνπεφωνημένας

ὑπὲρ τειμῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ δούλου Θώνιος

τοῦ καὶ Ἐπ[αγ]άθ[ο]υ ἀργυρίου ζεβαςτοῦ νομίςματος δραχμὰς χειλίας έξακοςίας αὐτόθι ἀπέςχεν ἡ ζτατωρία Φιλόξενα παρὰ τοῦ

ἀνουμένου ζεουήρου τοῦ καὶ Μέλανος ἐκ πλήρους. πωλεῖ καὶ βεβαιοῖ ἡ
ζτατωρία Φιλόξενα τὸν αὐτὸν δοῦλον ὡς πρ[όκειτ]αι ἐν ἀγυιὰ τῷ αὐτῷ

2. l. Βρεταννικοῦ 3 l. Άρτεμιςίου 5 l. ϵπί, ἀγορανομίου 8 l. ρίνί 12 ϋπαρχοντα 15 ϋπο 19 ϋπογραφη 24 ῖερας 26 ϋπερ, l. τιμῆς 28 l. χιλίας

'The [twentieth (?)] year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Parthicus maximus Britannicus maximus Pius Augustus, Artemisius which is Phamenoth 8, in the city of Oxyrhynchus, before Dorotheon and his fellow supervisor of the office of the agoranomoi. Lucius Valerius Severus also called Melas, aged about 44 years with a scar in the middle of his nose, has purchased in the street, from Statoria Philoxena aged about 50 with a scar on the wrist of her right hand, acting without guardian according to Roman custom by the ius liberorum, the male house-born slave belonging to her, Thonis, also called Epagathus, aged about 19, with a slight squint and a scar on his forehead, his mother being the slave Isidora. Thonis was examined by Didymus the strategus of the nome in the present month in consequence of applications for examination which the purchaser presented to him, of which the same purchaser received a single copy endorsed by the strategus. The purchaser has forthwith received from Statoria Philoxena the slave Thonis also called Epagathus, just as he is, and unrenounceable, free from epilepsy and eruption (?), and the price mutually agreed upon of this same slave Thonis also called Epagathus, 1,600 drachmae of silver of imperial coinage, has been received in full on the spot by Statoria Philoxena from the purchaser Severus also called Melas. Statoria sells and guarantees the said slave as aforesaid, in the same street . . . '

I Probably [($\tilde{\epsilon}\tau ovc$) κ]. The line may have begun in ecthesis. The restoration of the date depends on three considerations: (a) Caracalla's sole reign begins with his 19th year; (b) the honorific Germanicus, first attested for year 21 after the German expedition of 213, is absent here (as also in BGU 356, year 22); (c) the strategus Didymus (line 16) is attested by SB 10275 (no date), 2341 (A.D. 208), and 1259 26 (A.D. 211/12); the strategus Aur. Anubion is already in office in 212 (1196 1, PSI 1329. 1, SB 7988. 1).

5 ἐπὶ ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομείου κτλ.: this phrase is frequent in such deeds, e.g. **1706**, A.D. 207, PSI 181, A.D. 234, etc. It indicates that the deed is a δημόσιος χρηματισμός (cf. Taubenschlag, Law,

pp. 175-6, and n. 26).

11 κατὰ τὰ 'Ρωμαίων . . . δικαίω: Statoria, who enjoys the ius liberorum and acts without guardian, does not mention that she is ἐπιςταμένη (or εἰδυῖα) γράμματα. It is unknown whether she

is ἀγράμματος or μη είδυῖα γράμματα since the papyrus is mutilated at the bottom.

15–16 ἀνακριθ[έ]ντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ ετρατηγοῦ: this is a clear piece of evidence, to be added to Stud. Pal. xx 71, xxii 60, P. Ross. Georg. iii 27 (which are given by E. P. Wegener, JJP ix-x, p. 105), that the strategus of the nome was the official who was responsible for the inspection in the chora (cf. Kühn, Antinoopolis, pp. 143 seq.). For the procedure see P. Herm. Rees 18.

16 Διδ[ό]μου: cf. Henne, Liste des stratèges, p. 31 (1259); Mussies, P. Lugd. Bat. xiv p. 26 No. 277

(2341). Add SB 10275.

33 The mutilated part is likely to be similar to PSI 182, 29 seqq.; 1209 28 seqq.

2778. Memorandum

22×12·8 cm.

Second or third century

The papyrus was used at first for an account which was written along the fibres. A part of the papyrus was cut and this memorandum was written on the other side across the fibres.

οί γεωργοί τοῦ Αςφεως [[τὸν]] *ε*ιτον ἔτοιμον ἔχουςιν. οί ίδιοι ονηλάται την πλίνθον οὐκ ἢθέληςαν μεταφέρειν λέγοντες ἔθος είναι κριθὴν 5 τοῖς ὄνοις δίδοςθαι. ἀπαρτίζονται δε είς την ιθ μυριάδες $\overline{\Gamma}$. έὰν θέλης δι' ὀνηλατῶν της κώμης μέρος τῶν τριῶν μυριάδων η καὶ τὰς τρεῖς μετε-10 νεχθηναι πρός τηζν θύραζν τοῦ Νεοφύτου ἐκ (δραχμῶν) κη μετενεχθήςεται. κλάδον ἀκάνθης είς μηχανας δύο εὶ θέλεις κοπηναι ἐπεὶ χοινικίδες δύο καιναὶ ἀπόκειν-15 ται. τὸ λάχανον τῆς της β} Ἐρύθεως καὶ τοῦ Λύςωνος εἰς αὔριον ήτις ἔςτιν ιδ έτοιμόν έςτιν παραδοθηναι. τὸ θέμα τῶν κ (ἀρταβῶν) ςυνήλι-20

'The farmers of Aspheus have the wheat ready. The private donkey-drivers did not want to transport the brick saying that the custom is to be given barley for their donkeys. Thirty thousand (bricks?) are being made ready for the 19th. If you wish a part of the thirty thousand or even the thirty thousand to be carried by the donkey-drivers of the village to the gate of the (village of) Neophytou, (they) will be transported at a rate of 28 drachmae. If you want, a branch of the acanthus can be cut for the two water-wheels since the two new naves of wheels are laid aside. The vegetables of Erythis (or -eus) and of Lyson for the 13th will be ready to be delivered tomorrow which is the 14th. The (receipt for the) deposit of 20 (artabae) has been rolled up with this letter.'

I Acpic or Acpeve are names of persons. An Acpeve is met as a member of a guild of cloth dealers in 2230 2, A.D. 119.

8–9 δι' ὀνηλατῶν τῆς κώμης: the δημόςια κτήνη were owned by the villages from the 3rd cent. A.D. (P. Leipz. 85–6). The scribe of this document offers to use both the private (l. 3) as well as the public donkey-drivers; he does not seem to be an official concerned with public transportation such as the

sitologus, and may be an official on an estate (cf. E. R. Wolfe, TAPA lxxxiii (1952), pp. 89 seqq.). For the ὀνηλάται see Oertel, Liturgie, pp. 116 seqq.; P. Thead. 29.

II Νεόφυτος is met as a locality near Oxyrhynchus (cf. H. Cadell on P. Sorbonne 60, 4 n., A.D. v).

θύρα as 'gate of the city' is rarely used in the meaning of $\pi \dot{\nu} \lambda \eta$. It might mean a lock on a canal.

16 Ἐρύθεως: a proper name, as καί in l. 17 shows. A name Bερυθεύς or Bερύθις is not attested; Έρυθεύς is attested but the beta needs explanation. Since the scribe says (ll. 17-18) 'tomorrow which is the 14th' one may expect that he intended to say that the vegetables were over-due and that they ought to be ready on the 13th. Perhaps then he made an error in the date, wrote it $\iota \beta$, and on discovering the error inserted Γ under the line and left the beta without crossing it out.

2779. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE OF A WATER-WHEEL

 20.4×30.5 cm.

30 December, A.D. 530

This papyrus follows a well-known pattern, cf. 2244 introd. and the papyri quoted there, P. Med. 64, 2724. The text belongs to the Apion archive.

+ ψπατία Φ(λαουίων) 'Ορέςτου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν λαμπρο(τάτων) Τῦβι δ ΐνδ(ικτίονος) θ

Φλαουΐω ζτρατηγίω τῷ πανευφήμω καὶ εὐκλεεςτάτω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ςτρατηλάτη καὶ πα[τ]ρικίω πρωτεύοντι κατά τε τὴν Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν καὶ κατὰ ταύτην [τ]ὴν λαμπρὰν 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλιν διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ ἐ[π]ερωτῶντος καὶ προςπορίζοντος τῷ ἔδίῳ δεςπότη τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπερφυεςτάτω ἀνδρεὶ Αὐρήλιος Ἐπίμαχος ὁ καὶ Ἀπίμα υϊὸς

Φοιβάμμω[ν]ος μητρὸς Τερμουθίης δρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίο(υ) Παγγουλεε[ίου] κτήματος της ΰμῶν ΰπερφυείας τοῦ 'Οξυρυγχίτου νομο(ῦ) έναπόγραφ[ο]ς γεωργὸς χαίρειν. χρείας καὶ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τὴν

ῢπ' ἐμὲ γεου[χ]ικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην Πεντααρουραίας ἀντλοῦς αν είζις ἄ μπελον καὶ εἰς ἀρρός μον γῆν ἄξονος ένὸς ἀνελθών $\dot{\epsilon}[\pi]\dot{\epsilon}$ $\tau\hat{\eta}$ c $\pi\dot{\epsilon}\lambda[\epsilon\omega c]$ $\dot{\eta}\dot{\xi}[\dot{\epsilon}\omega]ca$ $\tau\dot{\eta}\nu$ $\dot{v}[\mu\hat{\omega}]\nu$ $\dot{v}\pi\epsilon\rho\phi\nu\epsilon\dot{\omega}\nu$ $\dot{\omega}c\tau\epsilon$ κελεθεαί μ[οι] παραςχεθηναι τον αὐτον ἄξονον καὶ εὐθέως ή ὑμῶν ὑπ[ε]ρφυεία πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη τῆς ευςτάςεως

τῶν ἐαυτῆς πραγμάτων τὸν αὐτὸν ἄξονα παρέςχετό μοι διὰ Μοίςωνος οἰκέτη τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπερφυεςτάτου ἀνδρὸς κ[α]ινον ἐπιτήδ[ι]ον ἀντλητικον εὐάρεςτον, ⟨ον⟩ ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀναπλήρωςιν πάντων των μηχανικών ὀργάνων ἐν τῆ cήμερον ήμέρα ήτις έςτιν Τῦβι τετάρτη τοῦ ἐνεςτῶτος ἔτους ςζ ρος

της παρούςης ενάτης ϊνδικτίονος ΰδροπαροχίας δε δεκάτης

ἐπινεμήςεως τοῦ δὲ παλαιοῦ ἄξονος [κ]ατενεχθέντος καὶ δοθέντος εἰς τὴν μεγάλην γεουχικὴν οἰκίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην πεποίημαι τὴν χειρ[ο]γραφ(ίαν) ἥτις κυρία οὖςα ἡπλῆ [γρ(αφεῖςα) κ]αὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ώμολ(όγηςα). (2nd hand) +Αὐρήλιος ἔπίμαχος ϋἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος

25 ὁ προγεγραμμ[ένο]ς πεποίημαι τὴν χειρογραφείαν ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν καινὸν ἄξον[α κα]ὶ ςυμφ(ωνεῖ) μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκ(ειται). Αὐρήλιος Μηνᾶς ϋίὸς τοῦ μακαρίου [Θ]εοδώρου ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπ(ερ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος (3rd hand) ‡ di emu eteliothe .. Τῦ(βι) δ ἰ(νδικτίονος) θ'

 $(Verso) + \chi \epsilon ιρογραφία Ἐπιμάχου ΰἱοῦ Φοιβά[μ]μωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Π[α]γγουλεε[ί]ο(υ)$ ἡποδοχῆς ἄξονος ἐν(ός)

1 l. ὑπατεία; Φλλ pap. 6 l. ἀνδρί 11 l. ἀρότιμον 13 l. ἄξονα 16 l. οἰκέτου 17 l. ἐπιτήδειον 24 for οὖτα l. ἐττὶν 25 l. χειρογραφίαν

'In the consulship of Fl. Orestes and Fl. Lampadius the most illustrious, Tybi 4th, 9th indiction. To Fl. Strategius the all-honoured and most famous consular, dux and patrician, now being chief of the city of the Heracleopolites and of this illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas the steward, managing and acting as agent for his master, the said most magnificent man, from Aurelius Epimachus also called Apima, son of Phoibammon and Termouthia, from the hamlet of Panguleeion, a holding of your magnificence in the Oxyrhynchite nome, registered farmer, greeting. Having now had occasion to require one axle for the landowner's water-wheel, which is called 'Five Arourai' and supplies water to vine-land and arable land, I went up to the city and asked your magnificence to order the said axle to be provided for me. And at once your magnificence having regard to the state of your property gave me the said axle through Moison, the steward of the said most magnificent man, a new one, serviceable, suitable for irrigation and satisfactory. I received it as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is Tybi 4th of the current 207th year, which is also the 176th year, of the present 9th indiction, for the irrigation of the 10th epinemesis. The old axle was brought in and given to the noble household of the landowner. In declaration of the receipt I have made this deed which is valid written as a single copy and in reply to the formal question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Epimachus, son of Phoibammon, the aforesaid, have made this seed, having received the new axle and all suits me as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Menas, son of the late Theodorus, wrote for him on request as he is illiterate.' 'Completed by me . . . Tybi 4, 9th indiction, 423.'

(Verso) 'Deed of Epimachus, son of Phoibammon, from the hamlet of Panguleeion for the receipt of one axle.'

2 Fl. Strategius is Strategius I. Cf. 1983 (535) 2-4 on the titles and offices of Strategius I.

4 Men of the name Menas as oiketai of this family are known from papyri from the end of the 5th century and throughout the 6th century; 'the position was probably held by successive members of the family' (Hardy, Large Estates, p. 84).

6 Aurelius Epimachus also called Apima is not mentioned anywhere else.

10 Cf., e.g., **2244** (vi/vii) on other names of watering machines, two of them also being compositions with the word arourai (16 ἐπτααρουρία, 48 ἐξκαιδεκααρουρία).

19 The years refer to the eras of Oxyrhynchus which were occasionally in use right down to the Arabic period (cf. 1632 9 n.).

28 υκγ. The explanation of these letters or figures remains to be found.

5

2780. Receipt for the Salary of a ύδροπάροχος

13.0 × 30.5 cm.

16 July, A.D. 553

The term of address to Fl. Gabrielia and the formula of the receipt follow the general practice of Byzantine times, cf., e.g., 1992 (572), 1892 (581). On ὑδροπάροχος see BASP V (1968) 101 seq.

+ βας[ιλε]ίας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐςεβ(εςτάτου) αλωνίου Αὐγούςτου καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους κζ τοῖς $\tau \delta \ \overline{\beta} \ \mu \epsilon \tau \dot{a} \ \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \ \delta \pi a \tau i a \nu \ \Phi \lambda (aoviov) \ Bacı \lambda i o v \ \tau o \hat{v}$

 $\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho (\sigma \tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \sigma \upsilon) \dot{E} \pi \epsilon \dot{\iota} \phi \kappa \beta \dot{\iota} \upsilon \delta (\iota \kappa \tau \acute{\iota} \sigma \upsilon \sigma c) \beta \dot{\epsilon} \upsilon \dot{O} \xi (\upsilon \rho \upsilon \gamma \chi \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \upsilon) \pi \acute{\sigma} \lambda (\epsilon \iota).$

Φλ(αουία) Γαβριηλία τῆ ἐνδοξοτάτη καὶ ὑπερφ(υεςτάτη) πατρικία λαχούςη τὴν λογιςτείαν καὶ

προεδρίαν καὶ πατερίαν ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως ὑπὲρ

οἴκου τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Τιμαγένους έπὶ τῆς εὐτυχοῦς λογιςτίας δευτέρας ινδ(ικτίονος) διὰ ςοῦ τοῦ αιδεςίμου

Χριςτοφόρου τοῦ αὐτῆς διαδόχου Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος ύδροπάροχος

τοῦ δημοςίου λουτροῦ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ(εως) 15 υΐος Παύλου. όμολογῶ ἐςχηκέναι παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητος ἐντεῦθεν ήδη ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ ἐμο[ῦ μιςθ]οῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς

πρώτης δόςεως τ[ης εὐτυχοῦς] λογιςτίας δευτέρας ινδ(ικτίονος) χρυς οῦ νομιςμάτ ια

 $\dot{\delta}$ ύο $\dot{i}\delta(\iota\omega\tau\iota\kappa\hat{\omega})$ ζυ $\gamma(\hat{\omega})$ τ $\hat{\omega}$ καὶ $[\pm\dots]$ $\dot{\delta}$ ιὰ τοῦ θαυμ(αειωτάτου) Ἰωάννου ζυγοετάτου αὐτῆς $\gamma i(νεται) χρ(νεοῦ) νο(μιεμάτια) β ἰδ(ιωτικ<math>\hat{\varphi}$) ζυ $\gamma(\hat{\varphi})$ καὶ πρὸς ἀςφάλειαν τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς ύμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητος) ταύτην αὐτῆ πεποίημαι

τὴν ἀπόδειξ(ιν) ήτις κυρ(ία) οὖςα ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖςα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ώμολό γ (ητα). + Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τιμόθεος υξὸς Παύλου ο προγεγραμμ(ένος) πεποίημαι τήνδε τὴν ἀπόδειξ(ιν) δεξάμ(ενος) τὰ αὐτὰ δύο νομίτματα ἰδ(ιωτικῷ) ζυγ(ῷ) λόγω τοῦ ἐμοῦ μιςθοῦ πρώτης δός εως λογιςτίας

δευτέρας ϊνδ(ικτίονος) καὶ ςτοιχεῖ μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκ(ειται).

 $\pm \dots]$ μης ἀξ(ιωθεὶς) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμ(άτου) ὄντος $\mathring{\mathbb{R}}$ di emu ïustu diakonu eteliothe'

(Verso) + ἀπόδειξ(ιc) γεναμ(ένη) π(αρὰ) [T]ιμοθέου ἡδροπ[α]ρόχ[ου] υἱοῦ Π[αύ]λου ἡπ[ὲρ] μι(εθοῦ) χρ(υεοῦ) νο(μιεματίων) β ἰδ(ιωτικῷ) [ζυγ(ῷ)

4 l. ύπατείαν 11, 19, 29 l. λογιετείας 25 l. έςτὶν 32 E. G. T.

'In the 27th year of the reign of our most god-like and pious master Fl. Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, and in the 12th year after the consulship of Fl. Basilius, the most illustrious, Epeiph 22 of the second indiction in the city of the Oxyrhynchites. To Fl. Gabrielia, the most honourable and magnificent patrician, who obtained the offices of logistes and prohedrus and father of the city of this illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, on behalf of the estate of Timagenes of noble memory in the fortunate logisteia of the second indiction through you, the most worshipful Christophorus, her deputy, Aurelius Timothy, water-supplier of the public bath of the same city, son of Paul. I agree that I have received from your honour now already on account of my salary for the first instalment of the fortunate logisteia of the 2nd indiction 2 gold solidi on private standard otherwise . . . through the most admirable John, your honour's weigher, total 2 gold solidi on private standard, and for the security of your honour I have made this declaration for you, which is valid written as a single copy and in reply to the formal question I gave my consent. I, Aurelius Timothy, son of Paul, the aforesaid, have made this declaration having received the said 2 solidi on private standard on account of my salary for the first instalment of the logisteia of the 2nd indiction and all is satisfactory to me as written above. I, . . ., son of . . ., wrote for him on request as he is illiterate.'

'Completed by me Justus, deacon.'

(Verso) 'Declaration made by Timothy, water-supplier, son of Paul, for (his) salary of 2 gold solidi on private standard.'

3 seq. The phrase $\tau \circ i \circ \tau \circ i \circ \tau \circ i \circ \tau \circ i$ connecting the dating according to the emperor's name with that according to consuls seems to have been a speciality of Justinian's time only; cf., e.g., 133 (550) 2, 140 (550) 2, 2238 (551) 2, 1895 (554) 2, 1965 (554) 2, 1970 (554) 4, 1980 (557) 3, 125 (560) 2, 1972 (560) 3. For the date cf. P. Cair. Masp. i 67094, 3 n.

6 Fl. Gabrielia is not otherwise known. But she may be identical with the late Gabrielia, mother

of Patricia, who are both mentioned in 2020 (late vi) 41.

7 seq. On the πρόεδρος, see Rouillard, L'administration civile 70 seq.; on the λογιτής and πατηρ πόλεως, JJP 7–8 p. 94. The noun πατερία has appeared before only in Cod. Just. 10. 56 (55) 1, again in connection with the λογιττεία. It is interesting to find all these offices held by a woman.

10 seq. Cf. 1887 (538) 2, 2016 (vi) 5, 13, and P. Warren 3 (± 530) 2 seq. on the estate of Timagenes and P. Warren 3, 2 nn. for a brief discussion of this and an οἶκος of Theon and the different opinions

among scholars about the meaning and importance of οἶκοι in Byzantine times.

13 seq., 22 Christophorus, Aurelius Timothy, and John are not otherwise known.

21 The reading of $\tau \omega$ is not certain, the letter after τ is clearly visible, but written in such a way that it looks either like a narrow ω or a wide-spread α . The gap might have contained a reference to another money standard which defined the balance of the private standard.

33 seq. Most letters of the verso are nearly invisible; their restoration was possible only with

regard to the recto.

VII. PRIVATE LETTERS

2781. LETTER OF SARAPION TO SARAPAS

 9×8.4 cm.

Second century

On the verso, across the fibres, Sarapion, who was absent from home, wrote a letter to his son Sarapas. On the recto part of two columns of a census-list, prepared for taxation purposes (certain persons are described as $a t \in \lambda \in ic$, cf. Wallace, Taxation, pp. 112 seqq.; 984, A.D. 82-97).

¹ Cαραπίων Cαραπậ ² τῷ ΰἱῷ χαίρειν. ³ ἐὰν χρείαν ἔχῃς ἄρακος ⁴ πρὸ τουν ἔλθωμεν γενοῦ πρὸς ⁵ Ἀφύγχ[ιο]ν τὸν πωμαρίτην καὶ ⁶ δώςι coι ὁ θ[έ]λεις, μὴ ἀμελή⁷ςης κοςκινεύεμν τὸ μακρο⁸φυὴν χορτόςπερμον τῆς ⁰ ὑπηρεςίας τῶν κτηνῶν, μὴ ¹⁰ ἀμελήςης ἀςφ[.]λ...ς (possibly ἀςφ[α]λίςας) τὴν χορτο¹¹θήκην καὶ τὸν θηςαυρὸν ¹² διὰ τὸν φοίνικα. ¹³ ἐρρῶςθ(αι) εὕχ(ομαι).

'Sarapion to Sarapas his son greeting. If you become in need of aracus before we return, go to Aphynchius the fruiterer and he will give you what you want. Do not neglect to winnow the grass-seed for the service of the animals, take care to [secure] the hayloft and the store for the dates. I pray for your health.'

4 τουν, cf. 611, Horn, Subjunctive, p. 128.

2782. Letter of a Priest to a Priestess

12×22 cm.

Second/third century

This little letter throws some interesting light on Graeco-Roman religious practices in the Oxyrhynchite villages. The priest has the title of $i\epsilon\rho\sigma\phi\acute{a}\nu\tau\eta c$, the priestess that of $\kappa a\lambda a\theta\eta\phi\acute{o}\rho\sigma c$. Both these words are new in the papyri and though Demeter, whose temple in the village of Sinkepha is mentioned here and whose cult is implied by the priestly titles, was identified with Isis from the time of Herodotus (ii 59, 156), they suggest a Greek element in the rites. The list of sacrifices brings in other elements. The sacrifice for the emperors and their victory is Roman. That for the rise of the Nile is very localized; those for the increase of the crops and good weather are universal.

The letter is written on the verso of a document that quotes some official correspondence of the year A.D. 153/4. This can hardly help to date the letter very precisely, but the emperors referred to may be Marcus and Verus (A.D. 161-9) or Marcus and Commodus (A.D. 176-80), unless the words may be taken to mean emperors past and present.

Μ]άρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος
ὶ]εροφάντης καλατηφόρω
Νε]ςμείμεως χαίρειν·
κ]αλῶς ποιήςεις ἀπελθοῦςα

5 ε]ἰς ζινκέφα εἰς τὸ τῆς Δήμ]ητρος ἱερὸν καὶ ἐπιτελο]υμέν[η τὰ]ς ςυνή[θε]ις
θ]υςίας ὑπ[ε]ρ τῶν [κυρί]ων
ἡ]μῶν αὐτοκρατόρ[ω]ν καὶ
ν]ἰκης αὐτῶν καὶ Νείλου
ἀ[ν]αβ[ά]ςεως καὶ καρπῶν αὐξήςεως καὶ ἀέρων εὐκραςίας·

$\epsilon'[\rho]\rho\hat{\omega}\epsilon'\theta'(a\iota)$ $\epsilon''\chi o'\mu'(a\iota)$

2 1. καλαθηφόρω

'Marcus Aurelius Apollonius, hierophant, to the priestess who bears the basket in Nesmeimis, greeting. You will do well to go to Sinkepha to the temple of Demeter to perform the usual sacrifices on behalf of our lords the emperors and their victory and the rise of the Nile and the increase of the crops and the healthy balance of the climate. I pray for your health.'

3 $N\epsilon$] $\epsilon\mu\epsilon'(\mu\epsilon\omega\epsilon)$. In the $\tilde{a}\nu\omega$ toparchy, like Sinkepha, see, e.g., 1285 57, 65. It is not clear whether the priestess of Nesmeimis was to go to Sinkepha because there was no one there to do the work or whether she was simply to join others in the festivities.

2783. LETTER OF APOLLONIUS TO ARTEMAS

15/27 cm.

Third century

The unusually lively and forthright language of this letter is its main interest, especially the adaptation of an ancient proverb drawn from dicing (7 n.). Another novelty is the first mention in Greek of an $a \partial \tau o \mu a \tau \delta \rho \iota c$ (= $-\delta \rho \iota o c$), presumably a maker of mechanical toys. The data about the prices of various sorts of olive oil are less helpful than might have been hoped because quantities are not specified and because the date can only be guessed from the handwriting.

Απολλώνιος Άρτεμᾶ τῷ ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν·
πρὸ μὲν παντὸς εὔχομε πᾶςι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ ἐν βίῳ
και κάλλιςτα ὑπαρχθῆναι· καὶ νῦν τῷ ἀδελφῷ κου ἔδωκα (δρ.) φ καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ἤδη

μετεβαλόμην ἀπὸ μέρους, καθὼς ἢθέ-5 λης εν θαυμάζω δὲ ὅτι εἰς μὲν ἔλαιον τὸ τοςοῦτο ἀργύριον ἐχώρηςαι εξ δὶς ἔβαλας ενθάδε γὰρ τὸ Άμμωνιακὸν (δραχμῶν) ςκ, τό δὲ Αὐαςιτικὸν (δραχμῶν) ε ὅθεν ἢ εἰς ἄλλην χρίαν λαμ{μ}βάνις δυναμένην ήμᾶς 10 ωφελήςαι, καλώς ποιεῖς έγραψας δέ μοι ώς έμου ςε κατακόπτοντος ἄποντα, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ χείρω τῶν πρώτων εἰ γὰρ ἀπαρτὶ ἐπίςταςαί μου τὴν γνώμην, οὐκ ὀφίλις ἄνθρωπος κρίνεςθαι καὶ ἄλλο-15 τέ τοι ἔγραψα ὅτι οὔτ' ἐγὼ τὸν κάμηλον Έρμία κατέςχον οὔτε ἄλλου τινός εἰ δὲ ταῦτα θέλις με γράφιν, γράφω ςοι τάχα γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγινώςκις ἄ τοι γράφω· ὅςα δὲ ἔπαθαν ἐνθάδε χάριν τῶν καμήλων 20 τῆς Κόπτου ὅ τε Άμμωνᾶς καὶ ὁ αὐτοματάρις Άνθρωπᾶς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες δύναςαι ἀκοῦςαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ςου· οί δὲ τάμροι coυ οἱ κατάρατοι cτρηνιῶcι καὶ πολλὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προῆλθα χάριν 25 $co\hat{v} \cdot \epsilon \hat{a}[v \dots].[\dots].$.].... βουλὴν ἔχω, ἐρῶ coι· ἵνα μὴ δοκῶ πολλά γράφιν, ἐρρῶςθαί ςε ⟨εὔ⟩χομαι·

(Left margin, downwards) τὸν τυφλὸν ὁ ἀδελφός coυ ἀνήκαςαί μαι πωλῆςαι·

30 (Back) Άρτεμᾶ π(αρά) Άπολλωνίου·

9 l. εἰ 24 l. ταῦροι 29 l. ἠνάγκας έ με

'Apollonius to Artemas, his brother, greeting. Before all I pray to all the gods that the best things in life may be yours. Just now I gave 500 drachmas to your brother, and to Ptolemaeus I have already made a part payment as he wished. But I am surprised that so much money went on olive oil. You threw (the proverbial) two sixes! For here oil from the Ammoniac Oasis costs 220 drachmas and from the Oasis (?) 200 drachmas. Therefore if you can buy to supply another need that can benefit us you will do well. You wrote to me that I am destroying you in your absence, and that worse than before. Yes, for if you (want to?) know my opinion just now, you ought not to be accounted a human being. On other occasions too I have written you that I did not detain Hermias' camel nor anyone

else's. If this is what you want me to write, I'll write (it) to you. For perhaps you don't read what I write to you. All that Ammonas and the automata-maker, Anthropas, and all the rest suffered here on account of the camels from (for?) Coptos, you can hear from your brother. Your cursed bulls are running wild and because of them I have appeared in court (?) several times, thanks to you. If . . . I have . . ., I shall tell you. So that you won't think that I'm writing too much, I'll bid you farewell.

'P.S. Your brother forced me to sell the blind one.'

(Address) 'To Artemas from Apollonius.'

 $3 \tau \hat{\omega} \ a \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \hat{\omega} \iota \cos \nu$. Probably the bearer of the letter, see 19-23, where he is to relate more details to Artemas.

5 ἀπὸ μέρους. Cf. BGU 1201, 15.

 $7 \stackrel{\text{e}}{\epsilon} \delta ic$. Six is the highest throw with a single die. $\tau \rho ic \stackrel{\text{e}}{\epsilon} is$ is the highest throw in the game with three dice, see Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 33. Eustathius (Il. 1083, 67) says that the ancients used three dice instead of two, so this passage appears to concern the highest throw in the later game with two dice. 'You have thrown two sixes' would most easily mean 'You have had a great success', but the context hardly supports this. $\theta a \nu \mu \acute{a} \zeta \omega$ in papyrus letters generally means 'I am unpleasantly surprised', and 9-11 seem to be asking Artemas to look for some other commodity to buy. I suggest, therefore, that there is an allusion to the proverb $\mathring{\eta}$ τρὶς έξ $\mathring{\eta}$ τρεῖς κύβοι 'three sixes or three ones', used ἐπὶ τῶν μηδὲν διὰ μέςου κινδυνευόντων (Eustathius, loc. cit.). Other references are collected in RE xiii 1950 and in M. Kokolakis, Μορφολογία της κυβευτικής μεταφοράς (Βιβλιοθήκη της έν Άθήναις Φιλεκπαιδευτικής Έταιρείας, Άριθ. 31), pp. 21-2. If this is right, Apollonius means that in investing so much money in oil Artemas is taking the risk of a great loss because there are cheap supplies from elsewhere. Perhaps translate 'you have thrown (for?) two sixes', implying that the result may be disastrous or, in dicing terms, two ones.

8 Άμμωνιακόν, Αὐαςιτικόν. 'Οαςιτικὸν ἔλαιον is mentioned in PSI 203, 5, but which Oasis it came from is not specified. Here it clearly is not from the Oasis of Ammon (Siwa). The Little Oasis (Bahariya) is the one associated with Oxyrhynchus. Lists of the prices of oil can be found in A. C.

Johnson, ESAR ii 316-17 and Johnson and West, Byz. Econ. Studies, pp. 181-2.

21 αὐτοματάρις. Cf. automatarius, Inscr. Orelli 4150, where the automata-maker is also a klepsydrarius. Hero of Alexandria's Automaticopoetica (ed. Teubn.) gives instructions for the making of

24 τάμροι. Presumably a nasalized version of the late (and Modern Greek) pronunciation of av as 'av', cf. Kapsomenakis, Vorunters., p. 11. The writer had difficulty with the nasal in ηνάγκας, 29 n. 25 προῆλθα. 'I appeared in court.' This is the commonest meaning in the papyri, but perhaps

'I have got years older' is a possibility, cf. προεληλυθότες ταῖς ἡλικίαις, Xen. HG 6, 1, 5.

27 Possibly the strong stop comes after έχω, and ἐρῶ του begins the next sentence. 'I shall say to you, so as not to seem to write (too) much, "I pray for your health."'

29 τυφλόν. An animal, I take it, perhaps a bull (24), or a camel (20).

ἀνήκαται = ἢνάγκατε; augment misplaced, as if the word were a compound with ἀνά?; or augment omitted (Mayser, i 333) and η for α (ibid., p. 62)? The nasal is dropped (ibid., p. 190). A similar form ἀνήγκασαι = ἢνάγκασε, occurs in a University of Michigan thesis by Dr. Gerald M. Browne, shortly to be published as 'Documentary Papyri from the Michigan Collection' (American Studies in Papyrology VI), No. 5, 11. The editor compares P. Brem. 38 11, 2563 21-2 and P. Amh. 133 12. The last of these, ἀνηκάςαμεν, is particularly close to the present one.

2784. Letter from Didymus

23.5 × 12.4 cm.

Third century

Δίδυμος Άρείω καὶ Διονυςίωι υίοις χαίρειν. [ί]κανώς ένηδρεύθημεν, ἀμεληςάντων ύμῶν περὶ τὸ

πλοίον. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο μέχρι cήμερον οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνη ἀνέπεμψα προςδο-5 κῶν χόρτον αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλέςθαι. καὶ νῦν πορθμεῖον οὐκ εὕραμεν διαπερᾶςαι αὐτὰ ἀλλὰ παραβολευςάμενος ἔπεμψα αὐτὰ κολυμβω διαπεραθήναι καὶ εἰ ἐδυνήθη 10 ανενεγκείν αὐτὰ ευ οϊος καν ως πῶν ποιής ατε π[λ]οιον ἡμιν πέμψαι ίνα μη καὶ οι τοι οθς πεποίηκαν ἀπόλωνται. μέχρι δὲ έκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἀγωγῆς 15 ἔςτω τὸ πλοῖον εἰ μὴ τὸ Παήςιος ἔρχεται ἢ ἐὰν ἀνάγκη ἢ καὶ μέχρι διακο[c]ίων · καὶ ὅτ[α]ν cυντάξηςθε τῷ πλοί[ω] ςυνθέςθε πρός τὸν ναύτην τέςςαρας ςαρ-20 γάνας χόρτου ἐμβαλέςθαι ἡμιν τοῦ ναύλου καὶ [δύο] ἀγγεί-`ον' [[α]] ήμιιν πέμψατε, πρὸ πάντων τὸ μικρὸν βάδιον τὸ ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι καὶ [[ἄλλο ἐν τῷ cυμποςίῳ]] `καψάκην τὸν μέγαν΄· καὶ 25 τοῖς κτηςι προςέχετε ἕως ἀνελθῶμεν. ἔδοὺ γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγον χόρτον $a\vec{v}\tau \circ \hat{\iota} \in \tilde{\epsilon}\pi \iota \delta[]$ έρρωςθαι ύμας εὔχομαι πολλοῖς 30

'Didymus to Areius and Dionysius his sons greeting. We have been seriously set back because you neglected the matter of the ship. On account of this I did not send the cattle up till today for I was expecting that you would send the fodder for them, and now we did not find a ferry in order to pass them across (the river), but I have taken the risk and sent them to cross [by swimming?], even if Eu[n]oios (?) had managed properly to bring them. Nevertheless do your best to send a ship to us lest the . . . which they have made should be destroyed. Let the ship be of 150 artabas' burden, if that of Paesis is not coming or, if need be, even up to 200 artabas. When you agree on the ship, collect for the sailor four baskets of fodder in order to bring them to us for the transport charge, and

χρόνοις.

ŧ

send also a bucket, and above all the small jar [measure?] which is in the bedroom and the big basket, and take care of the cattle until we come back. See, we (or you) . . . even a little fodder for them. I pray for your lasting health.'

9 κολυμβω: i.e. κολυμβῷ, 'by the act of swimming'? cf. Paus. ii 35, 1. Faint traces above the line might be taken to suggest that an alteration to κολυμβῶντα was intended.

10 Or εψ εδυνήθη?

11 Εὐ,οῖος: this may be a third brother. Εύνοῖος? But the trema on the iota makes the diphthong in an awkward position.

12 $\pi[\lambda]$ o îov is not certain.

13 Apparently ρ before τοι, room for one more letter (ἄρτοι) rather than two (χόρτοι).

15 πεντήκοντα, sc. ἀρταβῶν. So also 18.

24 βάδιον is a measure, cf. 1658, nn. 1, 4.

26 τοῖς κτῆςι is a later form for τοῖς κτήνεςι, cf. P. Flor. 321, 47 n., A.D. iii.

2785. CHRISTIAN LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

8×13.5 cm.

Fourth century

This letter is written to a priest of Heracleopolis and may therefore be the sender's copy kept for reference in Oxyrhynchus. The inference is perhaps supported by the lack of an address on the back, but the letter may have been brought back to Oxyrhynchus even after it had served its purpose.

It is cast in a formula which recurs frequently, see Naldini, *Cristianesimo*, nos. 19, 20, 28, 29, 50, 94.

One of the persons recommended is a catechumen receiving instruction in Genesis. This may mean that he is at the beginning of his novitiate, because St. Augustine concluded his treatise *De rudibus catechizandis* with a specimen lecture covering the whole of Biblical history and beginning from the opening chapters of Genesis, but it is more natural to think that instruction began with the gospels and that this man had reached a more advanced stage.

χαίρε ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ ἀγαπητὲ πάπα Cώτα πρεςβ(ύτερε) 'Ηρακλέους πολλά ςε προςαγορεύομεν· τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν 5 Ταΐωνα παραγινομένην πρὸς ςὲ παράδεξε ἐν εἰρή νη, καὶ ἄν(θρωπ)ον καθηχού μενον ἐν τῆ Γενέςει, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν παράδε ξε, δι' ὧν ςε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ ςοὶ

1, 13 $\kappa \overline{\omega}$ pap. 2 $\pi \rho \epsilon c \beta'$ pap.

6, 9 l. παράδεξαι

7 ανογ pap., Ι. κατηχούμενον

άδελφούς ήμεῖς καὶ οἱ ςὺν ήμεῖν προςαγορεύομεν. έρρωςθαί σε έν κ(υρί)ω εὐχόμεθα, ἀγαπητὲ πάπα εδ

15

'Rejoice in the Lord, beloved father Sotas, priest of Heracleopolis, we give you many greetings. Receive in peace our sister Taion who comes to you, and receive for edification a man who is being instructed in Genesis. Through them we and our companions greet you and our brothers with you. We pray for your health in the Lord, beloved father. 204.'

2 This Sotas is possibly the writer of 1492, who may also have written P.S.I. 208 and 1041. Cf. also P.S.I. 311 (Naldini, Cristianesimo, no. 39) 27, where a possible reading is ἀπόδος ζώτα[, see Naldini, Documenti di antichità cristiana, Tav. XXVI no. 46. Yet another possible Sotas is the one mentioned in P.S.I. 1412, 10 δι⟨à⟩ ζώτου τοῦ χρηςια[...], who may have been a Christian. In an Oxyrhynchite order to arrest, now being prepared for publication by Mr. Parsons, the person to be arrested is described as a $\chi\rho\eta\epsilon\iota a\nu\rho\nu$. The only obvious solution is to interpret this as $X\rho\eta\epsilon\langle\tau\rangle\iota a\nu\delta\nu$ and restore P.S.I. 1412, 10 as $X \rho \eta c \langle \tau \rangle \iota a [\nu o \hat{v}]$. The spelling will be discussed in Mr. Parsons's edition of the new papyrus.

7 Cf. P.S.I. 1041 (Naldini no. 29) 10 seq. καθηχούμενον έν ἀρχῆ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, 'catechumen at the

beginning of the gospel'. But note that this does not refer to any specific reading material.

Before and after avoy there are distinct spaces while the rest of the document is written closely. Even though there is no change in the writing or the ink it is possible that avoy was added afterwards in a space left vacant for the man's name. Because Avoc is not known to me as a name I have taken it that avoy stands for \overline{avov} , the usual form for $\tilde{a}v(\theta\rho\omega\pi)$ ov as a nomen sacrum (Paap, Nomina Sacra, p. 105, cf. 88-9), supposing that the writer was for some reason unable to discover the man's name, but the absence of a mark of contraction, though paralleled (Paap, p. 105) leaves room for doubt. Άννος exists as a name, see Pape, Eigennamen, and Foraboschi, Supplementum, s.v. 9 εἰς οἰκοδομήν. Probably metaphorical, 'for edification', see Lampe, Patristic Greek Lexicon,

Bauer, WB z. N.T., s.v. This sense seems to be new in the papyri.

15 cδ. The form of cίγμα is that with a bowed foot which designates the number 200. It seems that this must be a Christian slogan written cryptically by taking the sum of the numbers represented by the letters in the same way as the well known $\theta = 99 = d\mu \eta \nu$ (1+40+8+50 = 99), cf. 2601 34 n. There are other examples in F. Dornseiff, 'Das Alphabet in Mystik u. Magie', ETOIXEIA vii (1922), pp. 111 seq., but 204 is not among them. 284 (cπδ) stands for θεός, ἄγιος, and ἀγαθός, but there is no particular reason to suppose that there is a mistake here.

2786. II × 10.5 cm. First century. Private letter.

¹ Cαραπίων Ἰούςτωι τῶι ² νίῶι χαίρειν. ³ ἔπεμψα coì διὰ Παπίριος (first ι altered from a) 4 (δραχμάς) κδ (ὀβολούς δύο), ἃς διαγράψεις ὑπὲρ 5 Ερμῆτος καὶ Αχιλλέος 6 καὶ τημανεῖς μοι περὶ τοῦ ⁷ εἰληφέναι. ἀςπάζου τοὺς ⁸ ἀδελφοὺς cοῦ (coυς originally written, last ϵ cancelled) $\mu\epsilon\theta$ $\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\hat{\iota}$ $\hat{\iota}$ $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho$

Verso: X Ἰούςτωι νίωι.

9 παχ pap.

'Sarapion to Justus his son, greeting. I sent you by Papiris 24 dr. 2 ob., which you are to pay out on behalf of Hermes and Achilles; and you are to notify me of receipt of them. Greet brothers. Good wishes for your health and theirs. Pachon 6.'

Verso. '... to Justus, his son.'

2787. 12.2 × 16 cm. Second century. Letter from Dionysius.

¹ Διονύτι[οτ] T[+9] letters $\tau \hat{\eta}$] ² ἀδελφ $\hat{\eta}$ χαίρ[ειν], ³ κόμιται παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸτ Χαι⁴ρήμονος ὄτυπτρον καὶ τὰ ⁵ δελτάρια καὶ χιτῶνα ⁶ Ταψόιτος. ἄτπαται τὰ παιδία ⁷ καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκωι, ἀτπάζεταί ⁸ τε Χαιρήμων καὶ τὰ παιδία ⁹ καὶ Ἅγαθός ςε ἀςπάζεται ¹⁰ ἐρχομένω ςτ...λ...... ¹¹ ἐρρῶςθαί τε εὔχ(ομαι) ¹² ἐπεὶ ὁ τρ(ατηγός) μοι περὶ τού¹³του ἐπέθετο Ἅρίττων τοι ¹⁴ ἀναγνώτο (l. ἀναγνώτω) τὸ πεμφθὲν αὐ¹⁵τῷ πιττάκιον. ¹⁶ ἐρρὸ ω̂ (ςθαί) τε εὔχ(ομαι).

Verso: ἀπὸ Διονυςίου, ἐπις(κέπτου?) X 'Hρακλ(έους) πόλ(εως).

'Dionysius to T... his sister, greeting. Receive from (our?) father Chaeremon a mirror and the writing tablets and tunic of Tapsois. Greet the children and the people in the house. Chaeremon and the children greet you and Agathus greets you.... I pray for your health. Since the strategus has given me orders about this matter, let Ariston read you the document that was sent to him. I pray for your health.'

Verso. 'From Dionysius, surveyor (?) of Heracleopolis.'

4 ὅcυπτρον, i.e. ὅcιπτρον for ἴcυπτρον, ϵἴcοπτρον 'mirror'. See P. Osl. ii 46, 7 n., A.D. iii. 5 δ ϵ λτάριον 'note', Plut. Cat. Min. 24.

2788. 6.5×14 cm. Third century. A friendly private letter, broken only at the top.

(beginning lost) . . . ¹ γράψαι τοι ὅπως ἀντιγρά²ψης μοι πρὸ μὲν πάντων ³ περὶ τῆς ςωτηρίας ὑμῶν ⁴ καὶ εἰ ὁ γεοῦχος ἠνώχλη⁵ςεν ὑμῖν. παρατηρήςεις ⁶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Cαρμάτου ⁷ ἐρχομένους ἐνθάδε ὅπως ⁸ διὰ αὐτῶν μοι γράψης περὶ ὧν ⁹ βούλει. τὸν θεῷ δὲ φάναι ¹⁰ κἀγὰ ἥξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ¹¹ πρὸς τὴν πανηγυρικήν. ¹² ἄςπαςαι Cαραπίωνα ¹³ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Οὐάλην καὶ ¹⁴ Cερηνίλλαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ¹⁵ φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς κατ' ὄνομα. ¹⁶ οὐκ ἐδυνήθην δέ τι διαπέμ¹⁷ψαςθαι ὑμῖν διὰ τὰ ὄντα ¹⁸ κατὰ τὴν όδὸν ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς ¹⁹ οἴδατε. ἐρρῶςθαι ὑμᾶς εὕχομαι ²⁰ δλοκληροῦντας. (down the left margin) ²¹]ἐνεχύρου ὅτι ἐξ οὖ ἐτελεύτηςεν Φιλουμένη τόκον οὐ δέδωκα.

'... to write to you to write back to me before all things about your health and whether the landowner has been troubling you. Also you are to look out for Sarmates' people coming here so that you may send me a letter by them about whatever you desire. I too, to speak with god's help, will come to you for the day of the festival. Greet Sarapion and (my?) son Valens and Serenilla and all those that love us by name. I was unable to send any word (or anything?) to you because of the situation along the way as you know yourselves. I pray for your health and strength.'

Margin. '... (of a?) pledge, because since Philoumene died I have not paid interest.'

9 cù $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega}$ $\delta \hat{\epsilon}$ $\phi \acute{a}$ vai: cf. P. Flor. 127, I (= Sel. Pap. i 140).

17–19 The meaning is not clear; perhaps the sender alludes to some natural obstacle along the way such as the Nile flood (cf. **2680** 10–12: $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\alpha}\nu$ $a\dot{i}$ $\dot{\delta}\delta\dot{\alpha}\dot{i}$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\theta[\hat{\omega}\epsilon\iota]$ $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\theta\dot{\epsilon}\omega\epsilon$ $\dot{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\dot{\nu}[\epsilon\sigma]\mu\alpha\iota$), perhaps to one of the third-century revolts, or to brigands.

21] ἐνεχύρου: probably genitive, but possibly the imperative of ἐνεχυρόω.

On the custom of writing in the left margin cf. Ghedini, Lettere cristiane, p. 91, note on ll. 24-5.

2789. 10.6×15.8 cm. Third century. Two letters of Cleopatra, written across the fibres on one sheet of papyrus, the first to her father Epaphroditus (who is called $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ $\mu\nu$ also in 10), the second to the builder Morus (called 'brother' 9). Both concern a delivery of 5 artabas of barley to Morus, so that a debt due to a dekaprotos can be settled as a matter of urgency. The back is blank.

¹ Κλεοπάτρα 'Επαφροδείτω ² πατρὶ πλεῖςτα χαίρειν. ³ Πᾶν ποίηςον παραμετρῆςαι ⁴ Μώρω τῷ οἰκοδόμω κριθῆς ⁵ ἀρτάβ(ας) πέντε, ἐπεὶ δ̞ι̞ε̞νοχλοῦ⁶μα[ι ὑ]πὸ τοῦ δεκαπρώτου, μέλλω ⁷ [γὰρ ἐ]νκλειςθῆναι. ἀλ $\langle \lambda \rangle$ ' ὅρα μὴ ἀμε⁸[λή]ςης. ἐρ[ρῶ]ςġϵ (l. -θαί) ςε εὔχομαι.

9 Κλεοπάτρα Μώρφ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. 10 ἔγραψα τῷ πατρί μου Ἐπαφροδείτῷ 11 ὅπως παραμετρής τοι κριθῆς ἀρτάβ(ας) 12 πέντε, ΐνα διοικής το κατὰ τὸν 13 δεκά-πρωτον,καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν αὐτάρκης 14 εἶ περὶ τοῦντοῦν. ἀλ $\langle \lambda \rangle$, ὅρα μὴ ἀμελής το 15 ἐρρῶς θαί ςε εὕχομαι.

4, 11 αρταβ' pap.

'Cleopatra to Epaphroditus her father, very many greetings. Make sure to measure out to Morus the builder five artabas of barley, since I am being pressed by the *dekaprotos*. For I am to be thrown into prison. See that you don't fail. I pray for your health.'

'Cleopatra to Morus her brother greeting. I wrote to my father Epaphroditus to measure out to you five artabas of barley so that you can settle the affair of the dekaprotos and from now on you will

be competent in this matter. See that you don't fail. I pray for your health.'

VIII. MINOR TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS

2790. 21·5×10·5 cm. 23 July 255, 30 September 257. Two horoscopes written along the fibres on the verso of accounts of $\epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \iota c$: these accounts are badly damaged, but we have the following dates: first year of Gordian (238) and third year of the two Philips (245/6). The two texts, written one beside the other, are separated by a vertical line beginning and finishing with the symbol of $\kappa \lambda \hat{\eta} \rho o \epsilon T \nu \chi \eta \epsilon$ (cf. Bouché–Leclercq, L'Astrologie grecque, p. 288, n. 1). The hand, elegant and semi-literary, is of some palaeographical value since the text can be dated approximately. A second hand wrote in cursive the two words at the foot: $\theta \eta \lambda \nu \kappa o \hat{\nu}$ and $\delta \rho \rho \epsilon \nu \iota \kappa o \hat{\nu}$.

I am grateful to Professor Neugebauer for checking my calculations and making some helpful suggestions.

Col. i		Col. ii
5	' Ωρ(οςκόπος) Διδύμοις Άφροδίτη Λέοντι "Ηλιος 'Ερμῆς Άρης Ζυγῷ Κρόνος 'Υδρηχόῳ Ζεὺς Διδύμοις ζελήνη Τοξότη Κλῆρος Τύχης Κριῷ (2nd hd.) θηλυκοῦ	"Ωρα Ζεὺς Κριῷ Κρόνος Αἰγόκερῳ "Άρης "Ηλιος Έρμῆς

Horoscope Venus Sun, Mercury, Mars Saturn Jupiter Moon Lot of Fortune (2nd hand) female	Gemini Leo Libra Aquarius Gemini Sagittarius Aries	ii	Horoscope (?), Jupiter Saturn Mars, Sun, Mercury, Moon Venus Lot of Fortune and Genius activity (?) (2nd hand) male	Aries Capricorn Leo Gemini Aries
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Col. i. After 246 the positions given in the text for Saturn and Jupiter are possible between July 257 and January 258 (cf. Tuckerman, *Planetary*, *lunar and solar positions*). For the other planets the positions according to the papyrus are as follows:

Mars		from 30 Aug. to 9 Oct.
Venus	(120°-150°)	from 13 Aug. to 6 Sept.
Mercury	(180°-210°)	from 4 Sept. to 30 Sept.
Sun	(180°-210°)	from 23 Sept. to 5 Oct.
Moon	(240°-270°)	from 1/2 Sept. to 4/5 Sept. or from 29 Sept. to 2 Oct.

The positions of Venus and the Sun are incompatible. Therefore we have two possibilities of dating: (1) 5 Sept. 257, about the 8th hour of the night (if there is a mistake in the position of the Sun); (2) 30 Sept. 257, about the 8th hour of the night (if the mistake is in the position of Venus). Neugebauer suggests that the entry for Venus must be wrong because otherwise the $\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}\rho\rho\sigma$ $T\dot{\nu}\chi\eta\sigma$ would also be wrong (cf. *Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 8 seqq.). Thus Venus should be not in Leo (120°–150°) but in Virgo (150°–180°). By exact modern computation the positions for 30 Sept., A.D. 257 would be:

Venus	180°	Saturn 323°
Sun	187°	Jupiter 70°
Mercury	210°	Moon $\sim 251^{\circ}$
Mars	204°	

8 I have found no parallels for this. Perhaps only the sex of the person whose horoscope it is?

Col. ii. It is impossible to find in Tuckerman's tables at a date reasonably close to 238/246 a position of Saturn–Jupiter which agrees with the text. If there is a difference of two degrees in our computation of Saturn and Jupiter with respect to that of the ancients we can date the horoscope to 23 July 255, about the 8th hour at night.

Text			Computation
Horoscopos	(Aries)	o°-30°	359°
Jupiter Saturn	(Capricorn)	270°-300°	302°
Mars Sun Mercury Moon	(Leo)	120°-150°	144° 119° 134° ∼150°
Venus	(Gemini)	60°–90°	76°

1 $\ddot{\omega}\rho\alpha = \dot{\omega}\rho$ ος κόπος, cf. **1564**, 4 and **1565**, 4.

9 Cf. Col. i 8 with note.

- 2791. 5.6×2.7 cm. Second century. One of the invitations to dinner often found at Oxyrhynchus (cf. Vandoni, *Feste*, pp. 129-31), only the occasion of the dinner is new: a celebration for the birth of a child.
- ¹ $^{2}Ερωτ\hat{q}$ caι (l. cε) Διογένης διπνη̂ςαι (l. δειπνη̂ςαι) 2 εἰς πρωτογενέςιον τη̂ς $θυ^{3}$ γατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Cαραπείῳ 4 αὔριον η̈τις ἐςτὶν Παχ[ω]ν 5 [.]ς ἀ[π]ὸ ωρ(ας) η΄.

'Diogenes invites you to dinner for the first birthday of his daughter in the Serapeum tomorrow which is Pachon 26 (? or 16), from the eighth hour onwards.'

2 πρωτογενέςιον: only the form in the plural was documented up to now, as more usual for this type of substantive (cf. Mayser, 11 i 39).

 $5 \, \tilde{\omega} \rho(\alpha c)$ is written in the monogrammatic form frequent in these documents (cf. 2147 4 n.).

⁸ ξ has been corrected perhaps from ϵ . The horoscope perhaps finishes with a short astrologica note: cf. Greek Horoscopes L61 VV86, 19.

- 2792. 6.5×4 cm. Third century. This little slip, written in accordance with the usual style of invitations, finds a close parallel in 926 (= W. Chr. 486): it seems evident that on the occasion of an *epicrisis* there were private celebrations.
- ¹ Καλεῖ $c\epsilon$ ' Ω ρείων εἰς ² τὴν ἐπίκριςιν τοῦ ³ υίοῦ (υἰου pap.) τῆ $\bar{ι}\bar{\epsilon}$ εἰς ⁴ τὴν [ἰ]δίαν οἰκίαν ⁵ ἀπὸ ὥρας η΄.

'Horion invites you to the epicrisis of his son on the 15th at his own house from the 8th hour onwards.'

- **2793.** 8.5×7.2 cm. Second/third century. Receipt for transport costs given by Gaius Iulius Anthropas the agent of Ulpius Mygdonius to Sarapion alias Apollonianus son of Spartas.
- ¹ Γάϊς Ἰούλις Ανθρωπᾶς πραγμα²τευτὴς Οὐλπίου Μυγδονίου ³ ζεραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνι⁴ανῷ ζπαρτᾶ γυμναςια[ρ]χήςαν⁵τα (l. -caντι) τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως ⁶ γενομένῳ ἐπιςκέπτῃ Ὁάςε[⁷ ...ς \overline{Z} χαίρειν. Ὁμολογῶ ἀπες 8 χηκέναι παρ' ἐςοῦ τὸ c υμ 9 πεφω[ν]ημένον φόλετρον 10 ... (broken)

'Gaius Julius Anthropas, agent of Ulpius Mygdonius, to Sarapion alias Apollonianus, son of Spartas, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, formerly surveyor of the Oasis of the Heptanomia (?), greeting. I declare that I have received from you the agreed transport charge . . .'

3–4 $C\epsilon \rho a\pi i ωνι τ \ddot{\varphi}$ καὶ $A\pi ολλωνιαν \ddot{\varphi}$ $C\pi a \rho \tau \hat{a}$: this member of the family of Sarapion does not fit easily into the known stemma (E. G. Turner, JEA xxxviii 86 seqq.). Up till now persons called $Ca \rho a \pi i ων$ δ καὶ $A\pi ολλωνιαν δ α care attested only for the left-hand branch, while Spartas is attested only for the right-hand branch.$

6–7 γενομένω ἐπιςκέπτη κτλ.: 'Οάςε[ως] may have stood in l. 6, but it is more likely that ϵ [is the last letter of the line. At the beginning of l. 7 the traces occupy space for at most two letters, then comes a sigma and a sign resembling Z followed by $\chi alp \epsilon u \nu$. It is possible that the text should be written 'Οάς ϵ 7 ω c and the following mark treated as a symbol or abbreviation. The whole phrase is naturally attached to the title of Sarapion.

The administrative relationship of the Oasis to the Oxyrhynchite nome has most recently been reviewed by D. Hagedorn, Ztschr. Pap. und Epigraphik i 2, pp. 134–7. We meet the ἐπιστράτηγος Επτανομίας καὶ 'Οάςεως Μικρᾶς (P. Amh. 137, A.D. 289). One may think of the possibility of a person like Sarapion alias Apollonianus holding an office such as ἐπιςκέπτης 'Οάςεως (Ἑπτανομίας) (= \overline{Z}), less probably 'Οάςε[ως] τῆς (Ἑπτανομίας).

2794. 6×5.3 cm. Third century. List of supplies.

¹ λεγιωναρίοις α ² νομοκλάτορι α ³ [[ίππεῦςι δ]] ⁴ [β]ενεφικι(αρίω) \bar{a} ⁵ ἐπικτηνί(τῃ) \bar{a} ⁶ γ(ίνονται) κο() δ⁻. After κ in 6 the scribe has made a running loop, and continued the stroke below the line. κο() or κρ() could both be understood, i.e. κό(φινοι) (cf. P. Hib. 268) or κρ(έατος λίτραι).

4 [β] ενεφικι pap. 5 επικτην pap.

'To the legionaries, 1; to the nomenclator, 1; [to the troopers, 4;] to the beneficiarius, 1; to the drover, 1. Total 4....'

- 2795. 8.6×21.1 cm. A.D. 250. Lease of land. Originally published (with translation and plate) by G. M. Browne in *Bull. Am. Soc. Pap.* iv 2 (1967), pp. 49-52.
- $^{ ext{ iny I}}$ ἐμίςθως ϵ ν Αὐρήλιος Cαραπίω(
 u) $^{ ext{ iny 2}}$ ὁ καὶ Διονυςοθέων γυμναςιαρχή 3 ςας βουλευτής τῆς 'Οξυρυγχειτ $\hat{\omega}(v)$ 4 πόλεως Αὐρηλίοις (l. -ί ω) Κορνηλί ω 5 [[καὶ]] Κολλούθ ω (l. -ου) μητρὸς Tανεςνέω[c] 6 ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλεροῦτος ἐποικίου πρὸ[c] 7 μόνον τὸ ἐνεςτὸς β (ἔτος) τὰς ύπαρχού 8 cac αὐτ $\hat{\omega}$ περὶ κώμην Θ $\hat{\omega}$ cetaιν πρ $[o]^9$ γεωργουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτο \hat{v} με 10 μιςhetaωμένου ἀρούρας πέντε, ¹¹ ὥςτε ςπείραι πυρῷ ἐκφορίου ἀπο¹²τάκτου πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν (corr. from αρτωβων) εἴκοςι μιᾶς 13 ἀκινδύνου παντὸς κινδύνου, 14 τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοςίων ὄντω(v) 15 πρὸς τὸν γεοῦχον κυριεύοντα 16 τῶν καρπῶν ἔως τὸν (corr. from ταν) πυρὸν 17 κομίτη $\langle au lpha
 angle$ · ὄνπερ βαιβαιουμένητ (1 . βεβαι-) 18 τῆτ μιτθώτεωτ μετρίτω (1 . μετρείτω) ό με¹⁹μιςθωμένος εἰς δημόςιον θη²⁰ςαυρὸν εἰδίαις (l. ἰδί-) έαυτοῦ δαπάναις καὶ ἀν²¹αλώμαςι πᾶςι, οὖ καὶ θέμα καθα 22 ρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων ἀναδότω 23 ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἐνεςτῶτος ²⁴ ἔτους μέτρηςιν ἀνυπερθέ²⁵τως, γεινομένης τῆς πράξ $[\epsilon\omega c]$ ²⁶ παρά τε τοῦ μεμιςθωμένου καὶ 27 ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντω(v). 28 κ[v]ρία ἡ μίτθωτις, καὶ ἐπερωτη $[\theta$ εὶτ] 29 [ὁ μ] $\epsilon \mu ι \epsilon \theta \omega \mu \epsilon \nu ο c$ $\omega \mu ο λόγη³⁰[c <math>\epsilon$] ν . (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος ³¹ [Kaί]capoc Γαίου Μεςςίου Kυί $\dot{\nu}$ [του] 32 [Tρa]ιανο \hat{v} Δ εκίου $E\dot{v}$ ε ϵ βο \hat{v} ε [E] $\dot{\dot{v}}$ [τυχο \hat{v} ε] 33 [κa] \dot{v} [K]υίντου \dot{v} Ερεννίου $^{\prime}$ Ε[τρ]ον[$^{\prime}$ [$^{\prime}$ [$^{\prime}$ [$^{\prime}$] $^{\prime}$] $^{\prime}$ $^{\prime}$ Kυίντου τῶν 37 $\epsilon\epsilon$ βας μ ιωτάτων Kαιςάρων 38 $C\epsilon$ βας $[au\hat{\omega}]$ ν Φ α $\hat{\omega}$ φι $\iota \bar{\delta}$. One line space, and two traces of ink in mid line.
- 2796.11·3×12·9 cm. Late third or early fourth century. Account of expenditure on heating, possibly for the public baths. The sums appear to be the contributions of named officials (five of them gymnasiarchs or former gymnasiarchs).
- 'For fuel. I, Sarapion, son of Achillion, ex-gymnasiarch, have signed; 600 dr. Sarapion, son of Philosophus, ex-gymnasiarch; 600 dr. Demetrianus, ex-gymnasiarch; 400 dr. Aelius Agathocles; 400 dr. Heirs of Didymus, ex-gymnasiarch; ... dr. Apollonius, son of Aeanis (?); ... dr. Leonides, ex-gymnasiarch; 600 dr.'
- 2 In this line the entry $\gamma v' \mu'()$ cec $\eta \mu()$ is above the line and it is not clear whether it applies only to l. 2 or to the whole text.
- 3 Φιλοςόφου: for the interpretation as a name cf. 1497 1, A.D. 279, δ τοῦ Φιλοςόφου, 1413 20, A.D. 270-5, Cεουῆρος καὶ Ἐπίμαχος οἱ τοῦ Φιλοςόφου, cf. ibid. 24. For a status designation (cf. P. Lips. 47,

11, 14) the article would have been expected here. It is possible that Sarapion is a brother of Severus and Epimachus in 1413.

4 Cf. Αὐρήλιος Δημητριανὸς δεκάπρωτος 1260 9, A.D. 286, 1204 4, A.D. 299.

6 e.g. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἡράκλειος πολ(ιτευόμενος?) βουλευτής 1501 3, late A.D. iii; Δίδυμος έξηγητ[ϵ ύ]cac P. Osl. iii 111, 252 (cf. 205), A.D. 235.

- 2797. 4.5×11.5 cm. Third/fourth century. This document, a list of articles for a sacrifice, is of a type already known (cf. 1211), but a point worth noting is the involvement of the beneficiarius (on whom see P. Cair. Isid. 63 int.; Lallemand, L'Administration civile, p. 74 and note 4) in the sacrifice. 1211, of the second century, is addressed to the strategus.
- 1 Aγα $\theta \hat{\eta}$ Tύχ η . 2 β ενεφικιαρί ω . 3 κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς 4 θυςίας τοῦ ὄντος 5 μηνὸς Aθύρ. 6 ὄρνιθες $\bar{\delta}$ 7 δελφακὶς \bar{a} 8 $\dot{\omega}$ ὰ $\bar{\eta}$ 9 ςτρόβιλοι $\bar{\eta}$ 10 οἴνου κεράμια $\bar{\beta}$ 11 μέλι, γάλα, ἔλαιον, 12 $c\eta c[\acute{a}(\mu \iota \nu o \nu) \ \check{\epsilon}]\lambda a \iota o \nu$, $\acute{\epsilon} \kappa \acute{a} c \tau o \nu$ 13 $\mu \epsilon \iota \kappa \rho \acute{o} \nu$ (l. $\mu \iota \kappa \rho \acute{o} \nu$?). $c\tau \acute{\epsilon} \phi a \nu o \iota$ 14 $\mathring{a} \nu \theta \iota \nu o \iota$ $\overset{7}{\eta}$. 15 $\delta \iota \epsilon \nu \tau \acute{\nu} \chi \epsilon \iota$.

'For good fortune. To the beneficiarius, according to the custom of the sacrifice of the current month of Hathyr. Hens, 4; piglet, 1; eggs, 8; cones, 8; jars of wine, 2; honey, milk, olive oil, oil of sesame, a small measure of each; flower garlands, 8. Farewell.'

3-5 The most important winter festival, celebrated precisely in the month of Hathyr, was the

'Icicia (cf. Vandoni, Feste pubbliche e private, p. 141).

13 The reading μέτρον is impossible; perhaps μεικρόν: if so, we can understand either μικρόν μέτρον (cf. WB iii, 18) or more probably μικρόν = a little: in 1211 10 there is no measure given for oil, honey and milk (cf. also SB 2266, 21 μικρον έλαίου).

- 2798. 9×25 cm. A.D. 304/5. A receipt issued by two kapsarioi (cf. P. Giss. 50 int.) to a fellow worker for the price of two artabae of wheat. The price of one artaba of wheat here attested is 1,200 drachmae, i.e. about 133 drachmae less than the price stated in the Edictum de pretiis i 1 (cf. Johnson, Egypt and Roman Empire, p. 58). The fact is not surprising: the edict stated only the maximum over which the sale was illegal and we have evidence for cereal prices lower than those in the edict (cf. Rémondon, Chr. d'Ég. lxiii (1957), p. 135; Mickwitz, Geld und Wirtschaft, pp. 73-4). In the year 314 a price of 10,000 drachmae per artaba is attested (cf. P. Cair. Isid., p. 174), an increase of 833 per cent over the rate in the present text dated in 304-5.
- 1 Αὐρήλιοι Μουνάτιος 2 καὶ Άμμώνις καψάριοι 3 Αὐρηλίω 'Ωρίωνι δμοέργω 4 χαίρειν. [ἔ] ζχαμεν παρὰ coῦ 5 ὑπ(ἐρ) τιμῆς [πυ]ροῦ ἀρταβῶν δύο 6 (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) β, ἀρ[γ]υρίου δραχμὰς διςχιλίας <τετρακοςίας > 7 (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) Βυ. 8 (ἔτους) ιγ </ri> ας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν 9 Κωνςταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ 10 ζεβαςτῶν καὶ ζεουήρου καὶ Mαξιμίνου 11 τῶν ἐπιφαν $[\epsilon c]$ τάτων Kαι εάρων 12 []. (vac.) 13 (2nd hd.) [Aϑρ $\hat{\eta}]$ λιοι

Μουνάτιος καὶ Άμμώ 14 [νιο]ς ἀπέςχαμεν ὡς πρό 15 κειται. Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος 16 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδό 17 των γρά[μ]ματα.

'Aurelius Munatius and Aurelius Ammonius, dressing-room attendants, to Aurelius Horion, their fellow worker, greeting. We have received from you for the price of two artabae of wheat, total 2 art., two thousand (four hundred) drachmae of silver, total 2,400 dr. Year 13 and 1 of our lords Constantius and Galerius, Augusti, and Severus and Maximinus, most noble Caesars. . . . ' (2nd hand) 'We, Aurelius Munatius and Aurelius Ammonius, have received as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Didymus, wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.'

3 όμοέργω: cf., e.g., **1943** 4.

5 The supplement $[\pi v]\rho o\hat{v}$ is doubtful. I avoid the supplement $[\mathring{a}\chi\mathring{v}]\rho ov$ because measurement in artabae would be unusual for chaff (cf. WB; Hombert and Préaux, Chr. d'Ég. xxx (1940), p. 294) and the price would be too high for this year (cf. P. Cair. Isid., p. 92).

6 (τετρακοςίας): apparently omitted in error, since we seem to have the original edge of the

papyrus, so that there would not even be space to read [v].

2799.9.5×13 cm. Sixth century. Application to an agent of the Count Strategius (uncertain whether I, II, or III). 5 lines, complete.

¹ καὶ παροῦτα ἡ τὴ θαυματιότητ παρεκλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ χάριν τῶν εξ χρυτίνων τῆτ καταδίκητ ² καὶ ἐπηγγείλου τὰ δυνατὰ ποιῆται ὥττε κατορθῶταί μοι ταῦτα, νῦν πάλιν προτφέρω τὰτ αὐτὰτ ³ παρακλήτειτ ἵνα καταξιώτητ ἄμα τῷ δετπότη μου τῷ μεγαλοπρ(επεττάτῳ) κόμετι ζτρατηγίῳ ⁴ ποιῆται γράμματα καταλαβεῖν τοὺτ τιπ[ποπ]οιοὺτ τοὺτ καὶ ἐκβιβάζονται τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα ⁵ ὧττε ἀποττῆναι τῆτ κατ' ἐμοῦ ὀχλήτεωτ.

'When your excellency was present you heard my petition about the six golden pieces of the fine and you promised to do what is possible in order to set right these things for me. I renew now my requests that you together with my lord his excellency Strategius the Comes deign to cause the tow-makers who are contesting this affair to receive letters that they may refrain from annoying me.'

3 $C\tau$ ρατήγιος: Strategius I, II, or III? II seems favoured on palaeographical grounds and as a person interested in the activities on the estate.

4 cιπ[ποπ]οιούc: a new word. The first π might also be τ, but π seems satisfactory. cιτ[οπ]οιούc would hardly fill the space.

2800. 10×13 cm. Census return. A.D. 188/9. For the formula and the significance of the names of the prefect and ex-prefect see **2762** introd. Meagre traces of a similar item preceding this one show that it was part of a $cv\gamma\kappaολλήc\iota\muον$. The foot and some of the ends of the lines are broken away. After line 16 there are traces of two more lines.

¹ παρὰ Θέωνος $\Pi[avcι]$ ρίωνος τοῦ ² ζαραπίωνος τοῦ κ(αὶ) (του^κ pap.) $\Pi[av]$ ςιρίωνος μητ(ρὸς) (μη^τ pap.) ³ Εὐδαιμονίδ[ος τῆς] καὶ Ἀπίας ἀπ' 'Οξ(υρύγχων) (οξ pap.)

⁴ πόλεως. κατ[ὰ] τὰ κελευςθέντα ⁵ ὑπὸ Τινηίου Δ[η]μητρίου τοῦ ⁶ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόν[ος καὶ] ⁷ Αὐρηλίου Οὐηριανοῦ ἡγεμ[(ονεύςαντος)] ⁸ ἀπογράφομαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διελ(θόντος) (διὲ pap.) κη (ἔτους) (κη^L pap.) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου [Ά]ντ[ωνίνου] ¹⁰ Καίςαρος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) (κατοι^κ pap.) ἀπο[γρ(αφὴν)] ¹¹ τὴν ὑπάρχουςαν ἐμοί τε κ[αὶ τοῖς] ¹² ὁμογνηςίοις μου ἀδελφοῖς ¹³ Πλουτάρχω καὶ Cαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ ¹⁴ Παυςανία καὶ τῷ τῆς μετηλ¹⁵λαχυίης ἡμῶν ἀδελφ[ῆς c. 4 ll.] ¹⁶ []ης τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας ψ[ἱ]ῷ 'Ηρ[

'From Theon, son of Pausirion, grandson of Sarapion alias Pausirion, mother Eudaemonis alias Apia from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In compliance with orders given by Tineius Demetrius, the most glorious prefect, and Aurelius Verianus, ex-prefect, I register for the house-by-house census of the past 28th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the (house?) belonging to me and my full-brothers Plutarchus and Sarapion alias Pausanias and to Her..., the son of our deceased sister... alias Apia...'

APPENDIX

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

I 180 (description). Text in ZPE 3 (1968) p. 161 cf. ibid. p. 2 and Tafel 1 (a).

II 302 (description). Text in BASP vi p. 51, with photo.

II 384. Extract in II p. 280. In 287 γ n. $\pi \nu \rho o \hat{v} \tau \rho \iota \omega$ () $\epsilon \dot{v} \nu \pi (a \nu \tau a)$: for $\tau \rho \iota \omega$ () read $\tau \rho \iota^{\mu} = \tau \rho \iota (\mu \dot{\eta} \nu o v)$. See XXXVIII 2841 8 n.

III 513, 29. For Οὐεςτιδίου read Οὐεςτιδίου. See P. Petaus 10 6 n.

IX **1201.** For v(iro) p(erfectissimo) praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) read v(ices) a(genti) praef(ecti) Aeg(ypti). See $C \not = 44$ (1969) p. 135.

XIV **1719.** Correct *CÉ* 40 (1965) p. 357; cf. SB 10275, *BASP* vi (1969) 20–1.

XVIII **2190**, 43 δ χρήτιμος; 58 τὸν κοίκα πάντα ἀ[κ]ρι- (read from the original by W. E. H. Cockle).

XIX **2227**, I for Αὐρήλι]ος Άν[τίνοος read]ος Ά π [; 6 for τῶι πολεμάρχ[ωι read τῷ Πτολεμαί[ῳ. See $C\acute{E}$ 43 (1968) pp. 369–70.

XX **2223**, Euripides, *Bacchae*. E. G. T. would date the text in early 1st cent. A.D. R. A. Coles notes that 1074 is not omitted in the original. Read ϵ] xouca vwtoic $\delta\epsilon$ cmothy $\epsilon\phi\eta\mu\epsilon$ vov. 1131 end, Levitt reads $\eta\nu$ $\delta\epsilon$ maca $o\mu$ [ov, rightly. Fragment (b) has been identified by R. A. Coles and M. K. Haslam independently as the beginnings of 1072–6.

XX **2265** marginalia. New reading in CÉ 43 (1968) pp. 367–8.

XXIV **2407**, 10. For $\mu \dot{\eta}$ [τὸ] δεψτ[ερ]ον ἐκτεῖ[ται read $\mu \eta$ δὲν πλεονεκτεῖ[ν. (J. R. Rea, from the original, in response to another suggestion from Prof. N. Lewis.)

XXIV **2411**, 36. For $\pi\rho\rho[\theta i\mu]$ ως $\theta\epsilon[\lambda]$ ήςοντ[ι έξ]ωνήςαςθαι read $\pi[\alpha]\rho\dot{\alpha}$ [τοῦ] $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ ήςοντ[ος] ἀνήςαςθαι (R. A. Coles from the original, in response to a letter from Prof. N. Lewis, suggesting conjecturally $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}$ τοῦ $\theta\epsilon\lambda$ ήςοντος $\kappa\tau\lambda$.)

XXV **2435**, 27. For $[\epsilon \vec{v}]\chi a\hat{\iota}c$ read $[\psi v]\chi a\hat{\iota}c$? See ZPE iv (1969) p. 150.

XXVII 2479, 26. $\epsilon i \theta \epsilon \nu i a \epsilon = \tan \theta \sin \theta$ See $R EG \ln (1967) 353-62$.

XXXI 2586 title. For A.D. 253 read A.D. 264. (J. R. Rea.)

XXXI **2596**, 6–7. For μυράφιον ⟨καί⟩ χαρτάρια β⁻ read μυράφιον χαρτάρια β⁻ = 'two paper packets of unguent'. See Parola del Passato 121 (1968) 1–4.

XXXI **2603**, γ. For $\delta\pi[\sigma\iota]$ ως $[\cdot, \pi \rho]$ $\hat{\upsilon}\pi$ άρχει \cdot δπ $[\cdot]$ οιός τις \cdot ως \cdot \cdot (J. R. Rea.)

XXXIII **2665**, 6. For A \mathring{v} ρήλιοι ..].[.]ν δ καὶ 'Hρακλιανὸς κτλ. read A \mathring{v} ρήλιοι Mωρ] $\mathring{\iota}$ [ω]ν κτλ. cf. P. Princ. iii 133 2. (A. K. Bowman.)

XXXIV 2708, 23. For [.]. o^{θ} read $\lambda o \gamma o \theta$ i.e. $\lambda o \gamma o \theta (\epsilon \tau \eta \nu)$, cf. e.g. SB. 7558 23. (P. J. Parsons.)

XXXIV **2709**, 12. For $\tau \hat{\eta}$ διελθούς η [. $\hat{\eta}\mu \hat{\epsilon}$]ρ α read τ . δ. [δευτ $\hat{\epsilon}$]ρ α . See ZPE 4 (1969) 39.

XXXIV **2711**, 7. For αν [δι]καιοτάτη read αν[αγ]καιοτάτη. See ZPE 4 (1969) 40.

XXXIV **2712**, 5–6. *Cάλπων τις Κορνηλίου ἐκ πατρὸς μισθούμενος χωρίον*. Professor Youtie points out that the position of ἐκ πατρός indicates that it should be taken with μισθούμενος not Κορνηλίου. Translate therefore 'A certain Salpon, son of Cornelius, lessee in succession to his father of a farm' etc.

7 for ίκανὰ read ίκανὰ
14 for κυρ[ιος].. read κύρ[ιος.

- XXXIV **2713**, 4. For $\tau \hat{\omega}$ [a.[.]. $[\pi \acute{a}\pi\pi] \omega$ read $\tau \hat{\omega}$ $\pi a\nu[\tau]$ $\pi [\acute{a}\pi\pi] \omega$, i.e. 'There were born, in all, to my ... grandfather ... three children.' (H. C. Y.)
 - 6 μεταξύ; μετοξυ pap. (Η. С. Υ.).
 - 6–7 For $[\tau \dot{o} \nu \ a \dot{i}]^7 \hat{\omega} \nu'$ ἀποδέδωκεν read $\tau [\dot{o} \chi \rho \epsilon]^7 \hat{\omega} \nu$ ἀποδέδωκεν. Cf. SB. 4426 διὰ τὴν νόςον ἀποδοῦναι τὸ $\chi \rho \dot{\epsilon} \omega \nu$. (J. R. Rea.)
 - 8 δ' ἐπίσταςε; δεεπισταςε pap. (Η. С. Υ.)
 - 10 προπεςούτης; προςπεςουτης pap. i.e. 'from the inheritance devolving (upon us)'. (H. C. Y.)
 - ΙΙ ἐν $\hat{\eta}$ [οἰκ $\hat{\eta}$] ¹² caι(?) cυνδίετοι $\hat{\eta}$ caν. Restore perhaps [ἐκε $\hat{\iota}$] ¹² caι = ἐκε $\hat{\iota}$ cε = ἐκε $\hat{\iota}$ cε cf. LSJ s.v. ἐκε $\hat{\iota}$ cε II. (H. C. Y.)
 - 13 $\epsilon \pi i$; $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota$ pap. read $\epsilon \pi i$. (H. C. Y.) (Items marked H. C. Y. were contributed by Prof. Youtie from a photograph.)
- XXXIV **2728**, 28 ἐν τραχαίοις. Perhaps a bad spelling of ἐν δραχμιαίοις? 33 βωρίδια cf. Glotta xlvi (1968) p. 247; JEA xiv (1928) p. 27. (J. R. Rea.)
- P. Fay. 355 (description). Text in JJP 13-14 (1961-2) pp. 48-51; lines 3-4 corrected in ZPE 3 (1968) p. 164, see Tafel IV.
- P. Hibeh 154 (description). Text in BASP vi (1969) 41-3.

INDEXES

Small roman numerals refer to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, *Greek–English Lexicon*. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture. Round brackets indicate that a word is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol.

I. 2745

(a) Hebrew Names

<i>Ι</i> ελιεζερ [2745 Α 20?].
$I\epsilon$ λιφ $[$ 2745 C 23.
Ιεμαρεμ 2745 Α 9.
Ιεμουηλ 2745 Α 5.
Ιερειωθ 2745 C 8.
Ιερκ.[2745 C 15.
Ιερκααν 2745 C 16.
<i>Ιε</i> ςεςι[2745 C 11.
Ιε ccaι 2745 C 6.
I ε $\phi θ$ ο ψ [${f 2745}$ C 19.
<i>Ιθαμαρ</i> 2745 Α 8.
Ι <i>ccaaρων</i> 2745 Α 7.
<i>Ιωαβ</i> 2745 Α ΙΙ, C 7.

<i>Ιωαμων</i> [2745 Α 18].
<i>Ιωζαχαρ</i> [2745A 19].
<i>Ιωηλ</i> 2745 Α 10.
<i>Ιωιαδε</i> 2745 Α 17.
<i>Ιωναδαβ</i> 2745 Α 12.
Iωcαβεε [2745A 21].
<i>Ιω</i> ςεδεκ [2745 C 4].
<i>Ιω τη</i> [2745 C 17.
<i>Ιωκηρ</i> [2745 C 18.
<i>Ιωφαλέ</i> ς 2745 Α 14.
<i>Ιω</i> χαζ 2745 Α 13.
<i>n</i> = 0

(b) Greek Words

αλεχύνη 2745 B 4. ἀνανεναυςμένος (sic P.) 2745 B I ἀπάρχειν 2745 B 10. αὐτός 2745 B 5.	6.
βοήθεια 2745 Β 20.	
γνῶ <i>c</i> ιε 2745 Β 17.	

δεξιός 2745 Β 6.	
διδάςκαλος 2745Β	14.

ξβδομος **2745**Β 22.

·
ἥ 2745 B 4, 21. ἡμέρα 2745 B 5.
θεός 2745 Β 5.
<i>λ</i> εχύε 2745 Β 11.
κατάςχεςις 2745Β 13.
μνήμη 2745 Β 19.

έκουςιότης 2745Β 12.

έλαιοῦν **2745**Β 7.

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οἰκτιρμός **2745**B 9.

περιεςός **2745**B 15.
πικρία **2745**B 8.
πίστις **2745**B 18.
πλητιμονή **2745**B 21.

συντέλεια **2745**B 8? (συντελεσα P.).

II. NEW LITERARY TEXT

ἀγών **2746** 7. αἴνιγμα **2746** 14. ἀκου[**2746** 24, 25. ἀλλά **2746** 6. ἀνακλάζειν **2746** 11. ά cτο χεῖν 2746 6. βάλλειν 2746 4, 31. βουλή 2746 2. γῆρυς 2746 24. δεινός **2746** 4. Δηίφοβος [**2746** 11, 14, 16]. δόμος **2746** 11. δυστυχεῖν **2746** 8. δυστυχής **2746** 7. ča 2746 13, 13. ἐγώ 2746 11, 14, 22, 32. ἐκ 2746 11. "Εκτωρ 2746 7. 'Ελλην(-) 2746 30. ἐξολλύναι 2746 25. ἔχειν 2746 6.

 $\hat{\eta}_{\chi oc} \, 2746 \, \, \text{II.}$

θαρςείν 2746 Ι.

ίττάναι **2746** 1. ἴτως **2746** 8.

καί 2746 2, 17. κάμαξ 2746 4. κάμνειν 2746 1. Κας τάνδρα [2746 4, 6, 7, 8, 10?, 12?, 16?, 19?]. κλειν- 2746 29. κοινός 2746 10. κρείς των 2746 2. λέγειν **2746** 6. λεύςς **2746** 13. λόγος **2746** 14.

μέγας **2746** 14. μείζων see μέγας. μέχρι **2746** 10. μή **2746** 1.

νικᾶν **2746** 10. νῦν **2746** 10.

παῖε 2746 1. παρακελεύειν 2746 19. παραπλάζειν 2746 17. Πηλιώτης 2746 5. πούε 2746 1. Πρίαμος [2746 1, 5]. πρό 2746 16. πρός 2746 31. προςδέχεςθαι 2746 2. πύργος 2746 16.

cóc 2746 2, 30.

τέκνον **2746** 5. τίς **2746** 5, 11, 13.

φθέγγεςθαι **2746** 14. φράζειν **2746** 5. φρήν **2746** 17.

χείρ **2746** 30. Χορός **2746** 5, 6, 7.

Δ 2746 1.
 ψδή 2746 3, 9, 12, 15, 18, 22 26,
 [34].
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Αὐτοκράτορες Καίςαρες Πούπλιος Λικίννιος (vac.) Year I **2763** 17–18. Πούπλιοι (?) Λικίννιος Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Γαλλιηνὸς [[Καίςαρες]] ζεβαςτοὶ Εὐςεβεῖς [[Εὐτυχεῖς]] **2763** 8–10.

Probus

ό κύριος ἡμῶν Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Πρόβος Καῖταρ Cεβαττός **2764** 12–14. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖταρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Πρόβος Εὐτεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Cεβαττός Year 2 **2764** 29–32.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, CONSTANTIUS AND MAXIMIAN

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ζεβαςτοὶ καὶ Κωνςτάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέςτατοι Καίςαρες 2765 4-7.

οί κύριοι ήμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Cεβαςτοὶ καὶ . . . οί κ. ήμῶν Κωνςτάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέςτατοι Καίςαρες Year 20, 19, and 12 2765 17-20.

οί κύριοι ήμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Cεβαςτοὶ καὶ Κωνςτάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέςτατοι Καίςαρες 2766 6-8 (Year 20, 19, 12).

οί κύριοι ήμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Cεβαςτοὶ καὶ . . . οἱ κύριοι ήμῶν Κωνςτάντιος καὶ Μαξιμανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέςτατοι Καίςαρες Year 20 and 12 2770 26-30.

Constantius and Maximian, Severus and Maximin

οί κύριοι ήμῶν Κωνττάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Cεβαςτοὶ καὶ Cεουῆρος καὶ Μαξιμîνος οἱ ἐπιφανέςτατοι Καίςαρες Year 13 and 1 2798 8-11.

JUSTINIAN

βατιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐτεβεττάτου ἡμῶν δετπότου Φλαουίου Ἰουττινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούττου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Year 27 2780 1-3.

Uncertain

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορες (ΙΙ/ΙΙΙ) 2782 8-9. οἱ δέςποται ἡμῶν ἀνίκητοι βαςιλεῖς 2767 8-9.

IV. CONSULS

 ϵ πὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ θf'' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ηf'' $C\epsilon$ βαςτῶν Α.D. 304 2770 I=3.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωντταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεττάτων Καιτάρων τὸ ε΄ Α.D. 305 2766 1-2.

τοῖς ἐςομένοις ἐκ τρίτου ὑπάτοις Α.D. 323 2771 Ι.

τοῖς ἀποδειχθηςομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ Α.D. 323 2767 Ι.

ύπατεία Φλαουίων 'Ορέςτου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων Α.D. 530 2779 Ι.

τοῖς τὸ ιβ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Βαςιλίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Α.D. 553 2780 3-5.

V. ERAS AND INDICTIONS

(a) 207/176 ($c\zeta/\rho os$) = A.D. 529-30 **2779** 19.

(b) ἐνδικτίων 2nd (A.D. 553) 2780 5, 12, 20, 70; 9th (A.D. 530) 2779 1, 20, 28.

VI. MONTHS

Αγριάνιος 2771 3. Αθύρ 2774 10. Αρτεμίτιος 2777 3. 'Επείφ 2764 32 2780 5. 'Ιουλίων (καλανδῶν) 2771 2.

Νέος Cεβαςτός 2773 36, 47. Παῦνι 2769 34 2775 19. Παχών 2772 7 2786 9 2791 4. Τῦβι 2770 30 2779 1, 19, 28. Φαμενώθ 2777 4.

Φαρμοῦθι **2754** 13 **2759** 8, 14 **2767** 24. Φαῶφι **2757** i 2 **2774** 12 **2795** 38. Χοιάκ **2765** 21.

VII. PERSONAL NAMES

(f. = father; gd.-f. = grandfather; m. = mother; s. = son, etc.)

Άγάθαρχος see 'Ρέμμιος.

Άγαθοκλης see Αἴλιος.

Άγαθος 2787 9.

Άγαθὸς Δαίμων, s. of Diogenes, gd.-s. of Theon **2774** 1.

Άδραςτος, Aur., 2765 [14], 23.

Aiâvic(?) see Άπολλώνιος.

Αίλιος Άγαθοκλης 2796 5.

Αἰτέρνιος Φρόντων, praefectus Aegypti 2756 8.

Άμμωνᾶς 2783 21.

Άμμωνία, d. of Άπ[2762 13.

Άμμώνιος see Θέων.

Άμμώνις, Aur., capsarius 2798 2, 13.

Άμμωνίων 2775 6.

Άμμωνοῦς, d. of Pausiris 2776 7.

Άμυντιανός see Διονύςιος Ά.

Άνθρωπᾶς, automata maker 2783 22.

Άνθρωπᾶς see 'Ιούλιος.

Άντίγονος see Index VIII.

Άντωνίνος see Index III.

Άντώνιος see Index III.

Άπία see 'Ηρ[, Θέων.

Άπίμα see Ἐπίμαχος.

Άπίων see Πεκθειε.

Άπολλωνία see Θέων.

Απολλωνιανός see Cepaπίων.

Απολλώνιος 2757 i 3 2783 I, 30.

Απολλώνιος, s. of Aeanis(?) 2796 7.

Απολλώνιος, s. of Dioscorus and Meithous, gd.-s.

of Apollonius 2762 2.

Απολλώνιος, s. of Ischyrion, ex-exegetes, ἔναρχος πομπαγωγός καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ςτεμμάτων, senator **2768** 3-5.

Άπολλώνιος, strategus **2759** 4.

Απολλώνιος see Αὐρήλιος.

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Απολλωνοῦς see Παυςανίας.

Aπολλῶc, s. of Heracleides **2758** 6.

Άρειος 2784 Ι.

Άρειος, νομικός 2757 ii 5.

Άρίςτων 2787 13.

Άρποχρατίων, banker 2772 3.

Apcac, s. of Petosiris 2768 1, 10, 13, 26, 29, 35.

Άρειη̂ειε, s. of Petosiris 2768 1, 9, 13, 25, 29, 35.

Άρτεμᾶς 2783 1, 30.

Άρτεμωνίς, Aurelia 2771 4, 11.

Άρχίας, strategus 2758 1.

Άρχίβιος, banker 2772 I.

Ας...ς, κτενιςτής 2761 6.

Άcφευς (or -ις) 2778 1.

Άττικός see Κομίνιος.

Αὐλαῖος see Index VIII.

Αὐρηλία see Άρτεμωνίς, Μαρία.

Aὐρήλιος, Marcus A. Apollonius, hierophant 2782 1.

Aὐρήλιος Οὐηριανός, praefectus Aegypti **2762** 6 **2800** 7.

Αὐρήλιος see Άδραςτος, Άμμώνις, Αχιλλεύς, Δίδυμος, Ἐπίμαχος, Ἡράκλειος, Ἡρακλῆς, Ἡρᾶς, Θέων, Θῶνις, Κιαροῦρις, Κορνήλιος, Λούτευς, Μάξιμος, Μηνᾶς, Μουνάτιος, Πεκῦςις, Ποςιδώνιος, Cαβῖνος, Cαραπάμμων, Cαραπίων, Τιμόθεος, Τούρβων, Τρύφων, Φιλοςαρᾶπις, Ὠρίων.

Αὐρήλιος see Index III.

Αυcιρ[see Τούρβων.

Aφύγχιος, fruiterer **2781** 5.

Αχιλλεύς 2786 5.

Άχιλλεύς, Aur., archidicastes 2768 10.

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Bacίλιος see Index IV.

Γαβριηλία, Flavia, patrician **2780** 6. Γαΐος see Ἰούλιος. Γαλλιηνός see Index III. Γορδιανός see Index III.

Δέκιος see Index III. $\Delta \eta \mu \eta \tau \rho \iota \alpha \nu \delta c$, ex-gymnasiarch **2796** 4. $\Delta \eta \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \rho \iota o c see T \iota v \dot{\eta} \ddot{\iota} o c \Delta$. Δίδυμος 2784 1. Δίδυμος, Aur., 2798 15. Δίδυμος, ex-gymnasiarch 2796 6. Δίδυμος, s. of Sotades, ύπηρέτης 2759 2. Δ ίδυμος, strategus **2777** 16. Διογᾶς, s. of Heracleus 2773 4. Διογένης 2791 Ι. Διογένης see Άγαθὸς Δαίμων, 'Ηρᾶς. Διογενίς see Θωνις. Διοκλητιανός see Index III. Διονύςιος 2784 Ι 2787 Ι, 17. Διονύτιος Άμυντιανός, ex-cavalryman 2760 2, 21. Διονυςοθέων see Capaπίων. Διόςκορος see Απολλώνιος. Διοςκουρίδης, logistes 2767 2. Δωροθείων, επιτηρητής άγορανομείου 2777 5.

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Ἐπαφρόδιτος 2789 I, 10.
Ἐπίμαχος, Aur., alias Apima, s. of Phoebammon and Termuthia 2779 6, 24, 29.
Ἑρέννιος see Index III.
Ἑρμῆς 2786 5.
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Ἐρνθεύς 2778 16.
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Εὐδαιμονίς see Θέων, Cαραπίων.
Εὐδαίμων see Θέων, Ποτάμων.

Zωίλος see Φιλοςαρ $\hat{a}πι$ ς.

Θα[see Π εκῦτιτ. Θαῆτιτ see Φιλοταρᾶ π ιτ.

Θαιτας, d. of Ptolemy 2756 4. Θαμου[2757 ii 3. Θαυήτιον 2757 ii 3. Θεοδώρα 2771 7. Θεόδωρος 2779 27. Θεόδωρος see Index VIII. Θέων, Aur., alias Ammonius, s. of Eudaemon and Apollonia 2763 3-5. Θέων, husband of Myronous, alias Ptolema 2768 Θέων, s. of Pausirion, gd.-s. of Sarapion alias Pausirion, m. Eudaemonis alias Apia 2800 1-3. Θέων see Άγαθὸς Δαίμων. Θομψημις 2768 14, 30. Θώνιος see Τρύφων. Θῶνις, alias Epagathus, s. of Isidora, slave 2777 13, 23, 26-7. Θῶνις, Aur., s. of Thonis and Diogenis 2763 5. 'Ιούλιος, C. Julius Anthropas, agent 2793 1. 'Ιούλιος Λέπως (?) 2772 Ι. 'Ιούλιος Λοῦπος, praefectus Aegypti 2757 ii 1, 4. 'Ιούλιος Μάξιμος, archistator 2754 9. 'Ιουςτινιανός see Index III. 'Ιοῦ cτος 2786 I, 10. 'Ιοῦςτος, deacon 2780 32. 'Ιcιδώρα, slave 2777 13. 'Ιcίδωρος, s. of Nicanor, gd.-s. of Sostratus 2756 'Ιτχυρίων see Απολλώνιος. 'Ιωάννης, weigher 2780 22. *Καλαμόϊς*, shoemaker **2767** 4, 25. Καλλιόπη 2761 3. Κάςτωρ see 'Ηράμμων. Κιαροθρις, Aur. ἀποδέκτης and ἐπιςφραγιςτής 2766 *Κ*λεοπάτρα **2789** 1, 9. Κολλοῦθος see Κορνήλιος. Κόλων see Πεδουκαΐος. Κομίνιος Άττικός, praefectus castrorum 2760 6. Κόμμοδος see Index III. Κορνήλιος, Aur., s. of Colluthus and Tanesneus **2795** 4-5.

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Κορνήλιος see 'Ωριγένης.

Κωνςτάντιος see Index III.

Κυίντος see Index III.

Λούτευς, Aur., ἀποδέκτης and ἐπιςφραγιςτής **2766**

Λύςων 2778 17.

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Μαξιμιανός see Index III.

Μαξιμῖνος see Index III.

Μάξιμος, Aur., s. of Saras, πραγματευτής 2775 5.

Μάξιμος see 'Ιούλιος, Ποτάμων.

Maρίa, Aurelia, d. of Heracleides and Tauonis 2770 8.

Ма́ρкос, f. of Marcus, gd.-f. of ... 2761 2.

Μάρκος see Αὐρήλιος.

Μάρκος see Index III.

Μειθοῦς see Ἀπολλώνιος.

Μέλας see Οὐαλέριος.

Méccioc see Index III.

Mηναc, Aur., s. of Theodorus 2779 26-7.

Μηνᾶς, slave **2779** 4.

Mοίςων, slave 2779 16.

Mουνάτιος, Aur., capsarius 2798 1, 13.

Μυγδόνιος see Οὔλπιος.

Μυρωνοῦς alias Ptolema, 2768 2, 8, 16, 24.

Μῶρος, builder **2789** 4, 9.

Νικάνωρ, s. of Sostratus, f. of Isidorus 2756 3, 11.

'Ορέςτης, Φλάουιος see Index IV.

"Ocipic see Index IX.

'Οςτιλιανός see Index III.

Οὐάλενς see Index III.

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Οὐαλέριος, L., Severus alias Melas 2777 7, 30.

Οὐάλης 2788 13.

Οὐηριανός see Αὐρήλιος Οὐ.

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Οὔλπιος Μυγδόνιος 2793 2.

Παῆςις 2784 16.

Πακτουμήϊος Μάγνος, praefectus Aegypti 2760 4.

Παπίρις 2786 3.

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Παυτανίας, s. of Sarapion, gd.-s. of Sarapion, m. Apollonous 2774 2-3.

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Παυτειρίων see Ἡρακλᾶτ, Θέων.

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Πεδουκαΐος Κόλων, praefectus Aegypti 2757 i 1, 5. Πεκθεις, Aur., s. of Apion and Thamouis, gd.-s.

of Pecysis **2764** 4–5, 33, 39.

Πεκθειε, s. of Charmus, gd.-s. of Pecysis 2761 4.

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Ποτάμων, alias Maximus, s. of Eudaemon, gd.-s. of Eudaemon 2759 5, 9, 15.

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Πτολεμαΐος 2783 4.

Πτολεμαΐος see 'Ηρακλής, Θαιςᾶς, Πτολλᾶς.

Πτολλᾶς, s. of Ptolemaeus 2773 I.

'Ρέμμιος Άγάθαρχος, city scribe **2761** 1.

Caβîνος, Aur., ἀποδέκτης καὶ ἐπιεφραγιετής **2766** 9. Cάγκτος see Taîoc.

Caρaπάμμων, Aur., s. of Polemon and Heracleia 2764 24–7, 37.

Caρaπάμμων, s. of Achillion, ex-gymnasiarch 2796 2.

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Cαραπιακός, Aur. 2765 22.

Cαραπίων [2776 1?] 2781 1 2786 1 2788 12.

Capaπίων, alias Pausanias 2800 13.

Cαραπίων, Aur. 2764 39.

Caρaπίων, Aur., alias Dionysotheon, ex-gymnasiarch, senator 2795 1-2.

Caρaπίων, Aur., alias Horion, s. of Sarapion and Eudaemonis 2769 6–7, 9, 25, 34.

Caρaπίων, s. of Philosophus, ex-gymnasiarch 2796 3.

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Cαρμάτης 2788 6.

Cεουῆρος see Οὐαλέριος.

Cεραπίων, alias Apollonianus, s. of Spartas, exgymnasiarch 2793 3.

Cεραπίων see 'Ηρακλης.

Cερηνίλλα 2788 14.

Cινθώνις see Τούρβων.

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Cτρατήγιος, count 2799 3.

Cτρατήγιος, Φλάουιος, consular, dux, patrician 2779 2.

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Cωτάδης see Δίδυμος.

Cώτας 2785 2.

Taaμόϊς, wife of Apollos, s. of Heracleides 2758 9.
Taîoc (?), Titus Taius (?) Sanctus, praefectus
Aegypti 2760 1.

Ταΐων 2785 5.

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Ταυῶνις see Maρία.

Ταψόις 2787 6.

Τερμουθία see Ἐπίμαχος.

Τιμαγένης 2780 11.

Τιμόθεος, Aur., s. of Paul, water-supplier 2780 14,

Τινήϊος Δημήτριος, praefectus Aegypti 2762 4 2800 ₅.

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Τούρβων (?), Aur., s. of Ausir[, and Sinthonis 2775 I-2.

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Pavlac, s. of Saras, archiereus in office, senator

Φιλοcaρâπιc, Aur., s. of Zoilus and Thaesis 2769 1-2, 8, 23, 27.

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Χαιρήμων 2787 3, 8.

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'Ωριγένης, s. of Cornelius, wineseller (?) 2767 3, 25, 27, [31-2?].

' Ωρίων 2792 Ι.

'Ωρίων, Aur., capsarius 2798 3.

'Ωρίων, Aur., strategus 2766 3.

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'Ηρακλεοπολιτῶν (πόλις) 2779 3.

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Μικρά "Οαςις 2766 5-6, 17.

"Oacıc 2793 6.

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'Οξυρυγχίτης (nome) **2760** 7 **2763** 1 **2764** 3

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 $\Psi \acute{\epsilon} \omega c \ (amphodon) \ 2766 \ 14.$

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(b) Christian

Γένετις **2785** 8. διάκονος **2780** 32. εἰρήνη **2785** 6.

| κύριος 2785 1, 13. πάπας 2785 1, 15. πρεςβύτερος 'Ηρακλέους (πόλεως) 2785 2.

ἀκέφαλος 2753D 5. Ἀνάγκη 2753D 8. ἄναξ 2753D 13. Ἀνοῦθ 2753D 13. Βηςᾶς [2753D 10].

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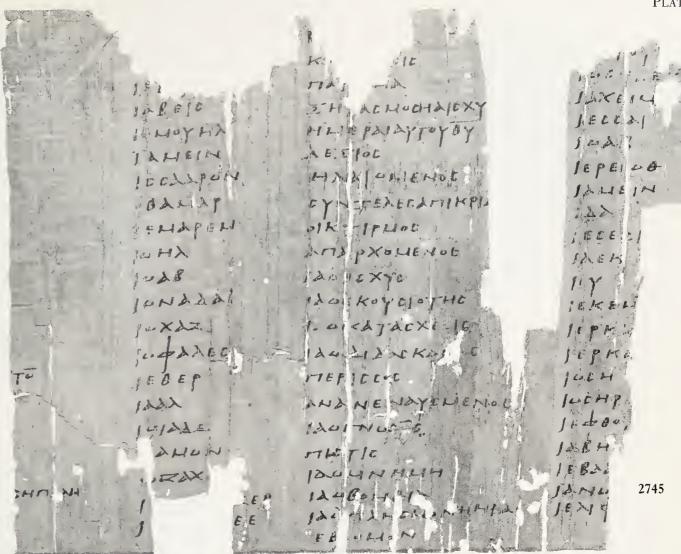
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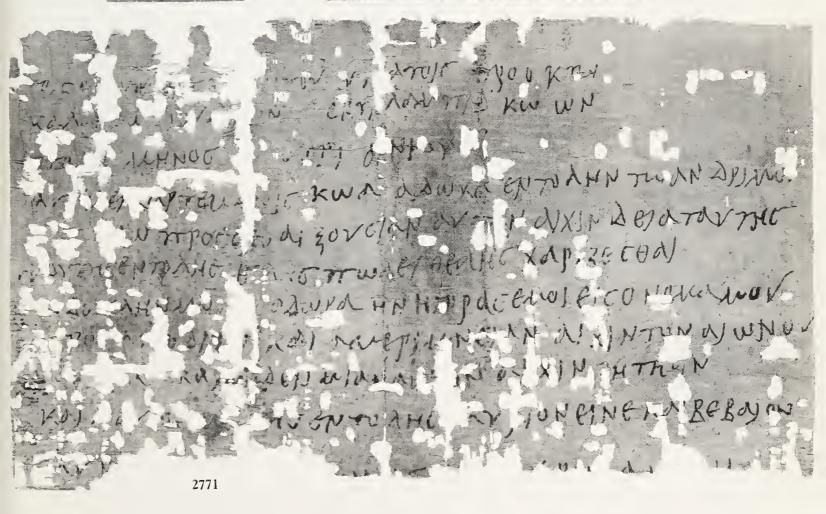
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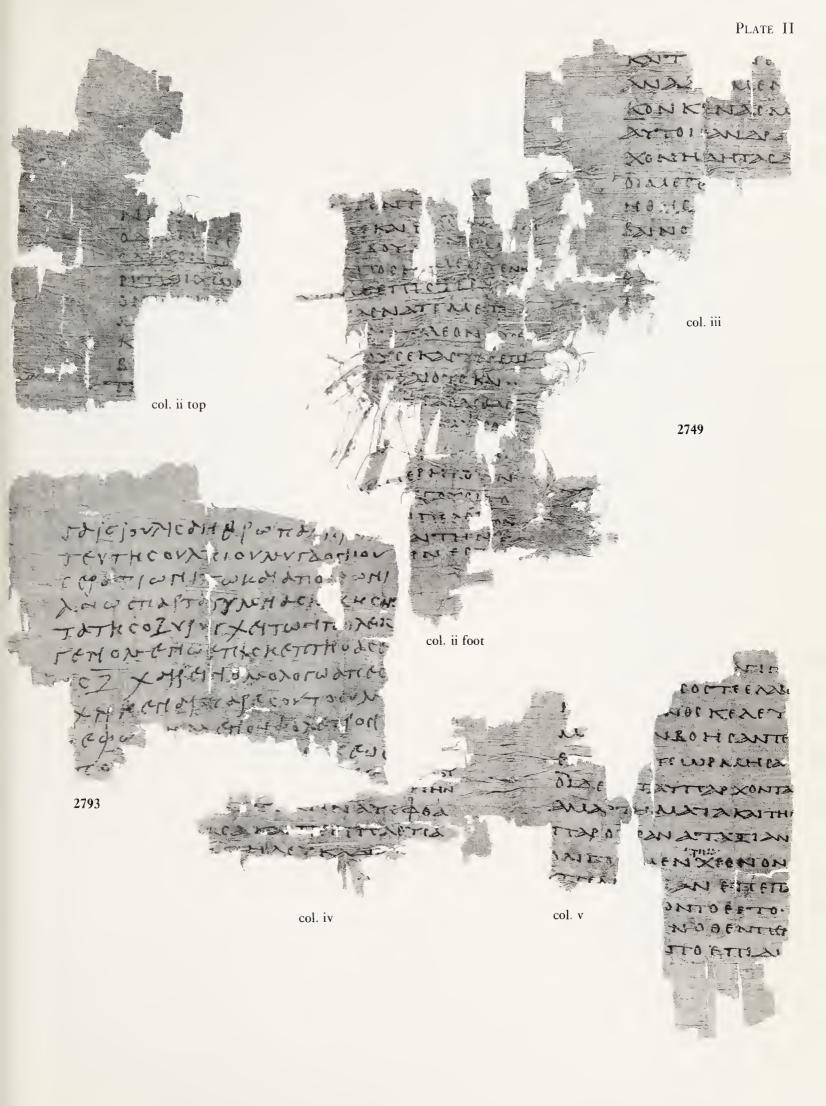
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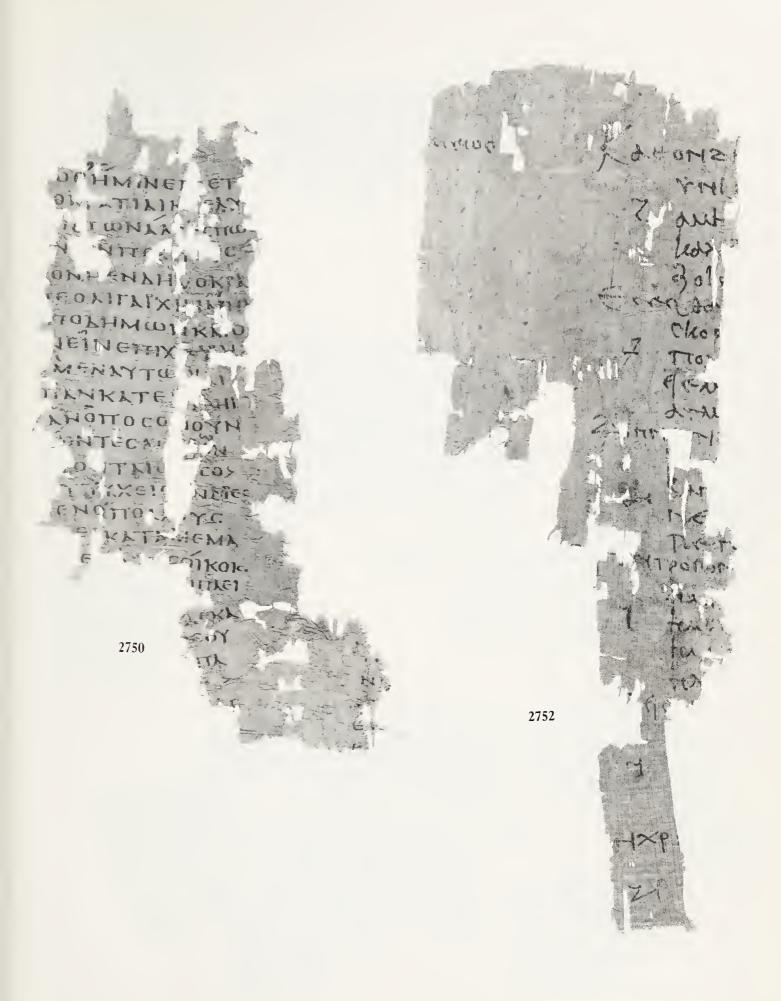
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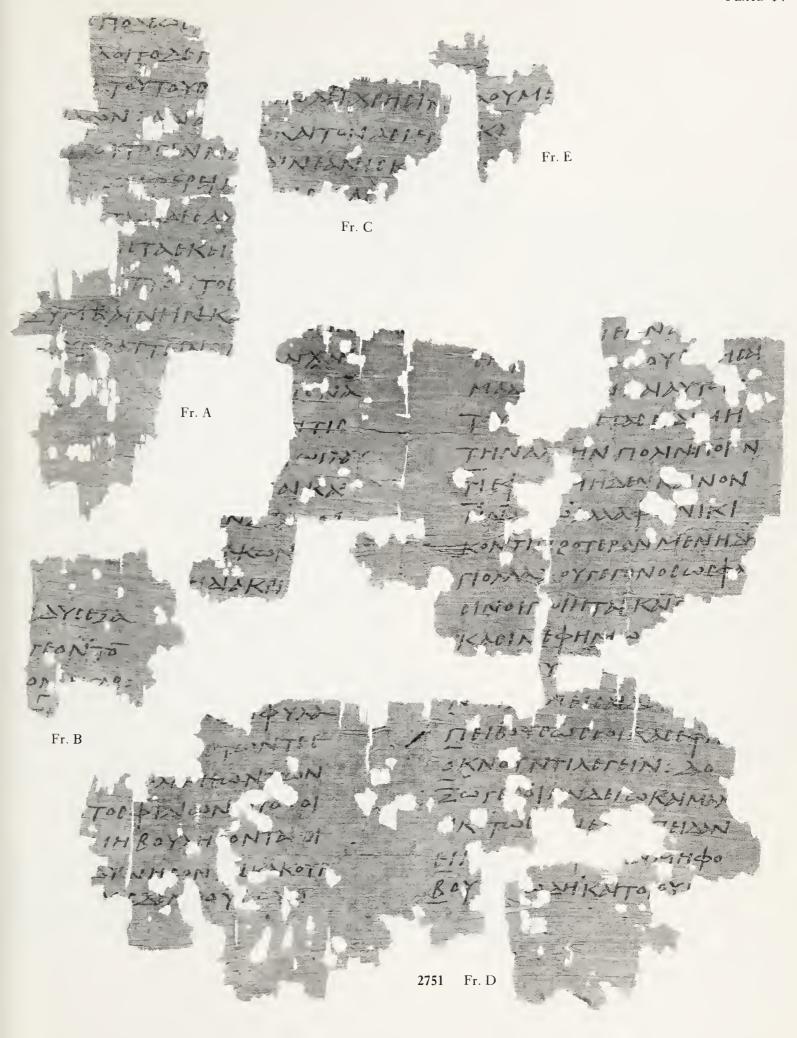




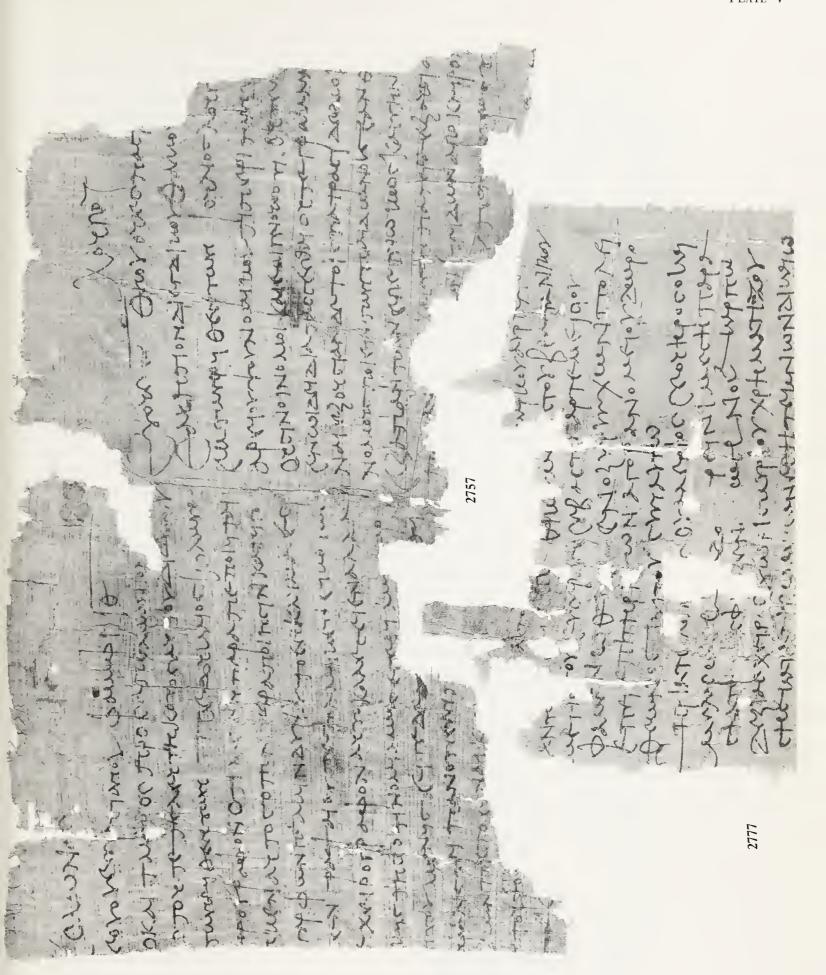




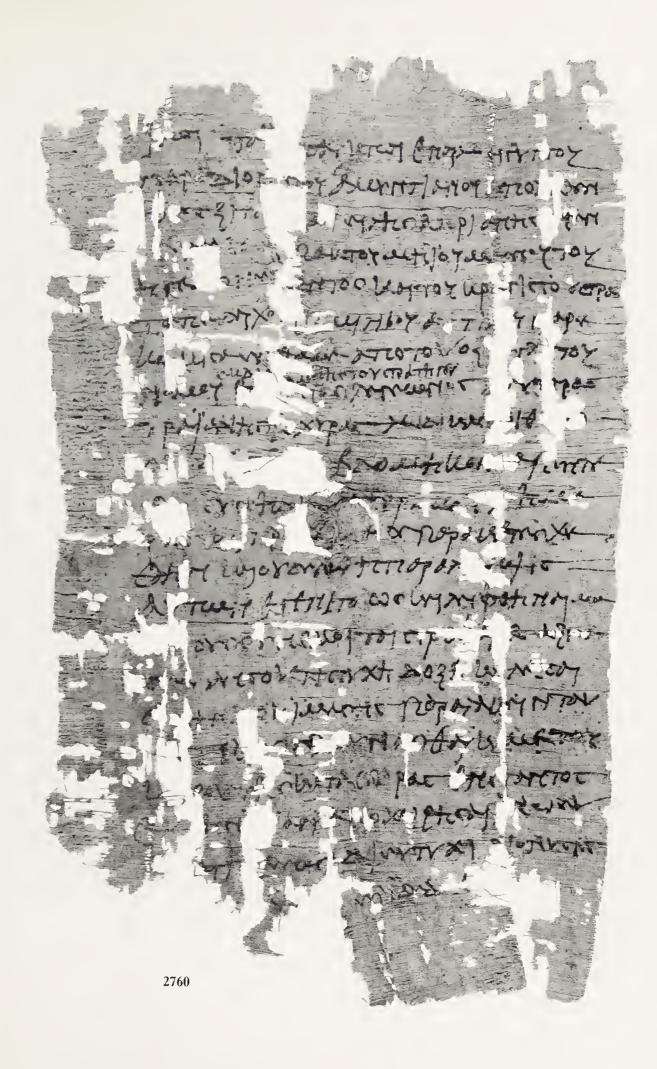




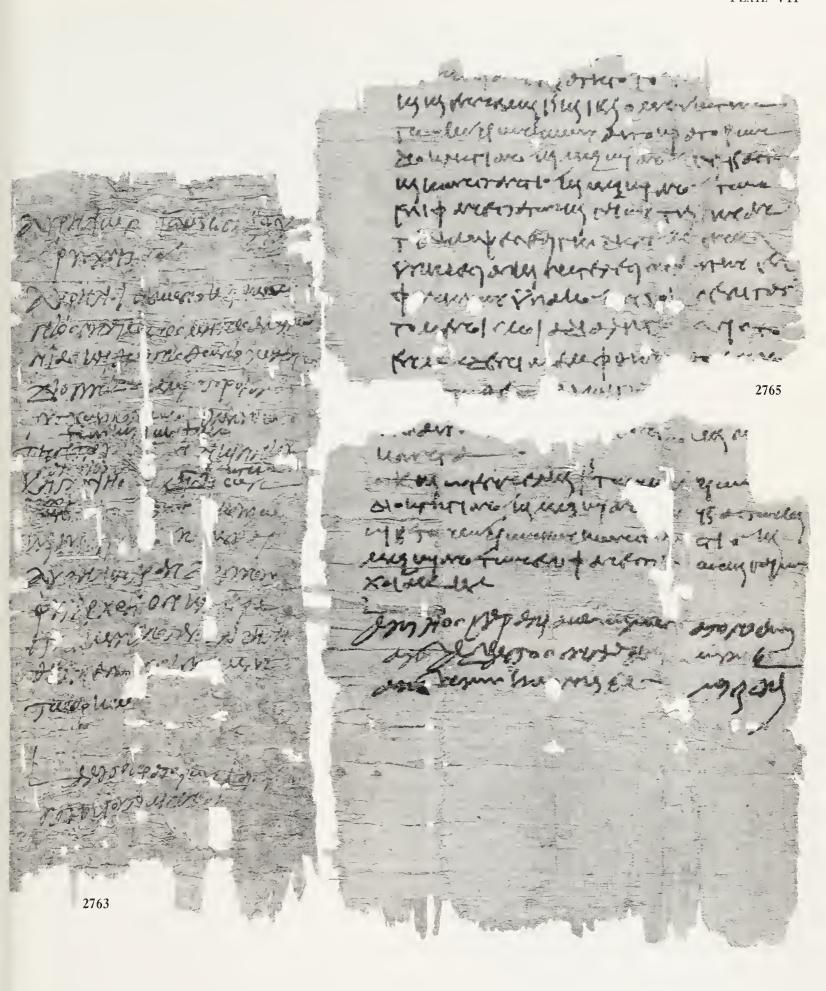












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